R5685-11.1

Election '84 Report #1

The Impact of the Black Electorate

Thomas E. Cavanagh

Joint Center for Political Studies Washington, D.C. 1984

The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national nonprofit institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs.

Opinions expressed in Joint Center publications are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the other staff, officers, or governors of the Joint Center or of the organizations supporting the center and its research.

We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation, which helped to make this publication possible.

Copyright ©1984, Joint Center for Political Studies, Inc.
All Rights Reserved
Printed in the United States of America

1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004

Contents

List of Tables iv

Foreword v

The Location of Black Voters 1

Registration 2

Turnout 3

Partisanship and Voting 4

What Difference Does It Make? 5

Tables

1. Black voting-age population, by state, November 1982 8

2. Top 50 cities ranked by black voting-age population, 1980 9

3. Congressional districts in which blacks comprise 20 percent or more of the voting-age population 10

4. Reported black voter registration and turnout, 1966-1982 13

5. Reported voter participation as a percentage of those registered to vote, by region and race, 1968-1982 14

6. Reported voter participation as a percentage of voting-age population, by region and race, 1964-1982 15

7. Black party identification, 1937-1980 16

8. Black support for democratic presidential nominees, 1936-1980 17

9. Number of blacks in selected categories of elected officials, 1970-1983 18

10. Cities with black mayors (1980 population over 50,000) 19

11. Number of black delegates at Democratic National Conventions, 1932-1980 20

12. Black delegate representation at 1972, 1976, and 1980 Democratic National Conventions, by state 21

13. Number of black delegates at Republican National Conventions, 1912-1980 23

14. Black delegate representation at 1972, 1976, and 1980 Republican National Conventions, by state 24

15. Black voter registration, 1982 26

16. Presidential victory margins, 1960-1980, and black percentage of voting-age population, by state 27

Foreword

"The Impact of the Black Electorate" is the first in a series of election reports the Joint Center will issue during 1984 and 1985.

Several factors have come together to place the black vote in the spotlight this year: the campaign of the Reverend Jesse Jackson, the upsurge in the number of registered black voters and black elected officials over the past year, the mustering of several major voter registration campaigns, and the unprecedented low approval ratings that blacks give the incumbent president. The Joint Center, which has monitored black political participation continually since 1970, plans to study all stages of the presidential selection process: the campaigns, the primaries, the conventions, the polls, the election. These studies will be the subject of future reports in this series.

Lowell Weicker stated at the 1982 NAACP convention, "Voting rights aren't worth a damn unless they are viewed as responsibilities too. I don't need to tell you that politicians tend to help those who help themselves by voting. Blacks haven't done that in recent elections; they've hurt themselves by staying at home, and that is what the bigots and the racists of the world are counting on." "The Impact of the Black Electorate" should help drive home just how powerful a force the black vote can be in 1984 and beyond.

This edition of "The Impact" is an updated version of a working paper prepared last year. Some of the research grew out of requests from both Republicans and Democrats for information on the black electorate. Thomas E. Cavanagh wrote the study under the supervision of Dr. Milton D. Morris, director of research at the Joint Center. Daniel Houston provided research assistance. The manuscript was edited by Constance Toliver, editorial assistant. Panola Golson and Beverly Nedd performed the typing.

Eddie N. Williams
President
January 1984

As the 1984 election approaches, the black vote looms large in the calculations of political strategists. Since 1980, the signs have been abundant that the United States is entering a major period of black political activism. Grass roots mobilization efforts added almost 600,000 blacks to the nation's voter registration rolls between 1980 and 1982, and as many as 2 million additional blacks may register by November 1984. Black voter turnout surged by 5.8 percent in the 1982 congressional elections over the 1978 level, helping to swell the ranks of black elected officials. Thanks to the victories of Harold Washington in Chicago and W. Wilson Goode in Philadelphia, more attention has been paid to the success of black mayoral campaigns than at any time since 1967. And Jesse Jackson has declared his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984. Both the outcome of the presidential race and the Republican fight to maintain control of the Senate could well hinge on the size and inclination of the black vote in 1984.

This paper examines the impact of the black electorate from several perspectives. After outlining where potential black voters are most heavily concentrated, the paper moves on to discuss trends in black registration, turnout, and partisanship. It concludes with some observations on the importance of the black vote in the election of black officeholders, convention delegates, the Electoral College, and the Senate.

The Location of Black Voters

As of November 1982, there were 17.8 million blacks of voting age in the United States. This represents 10.5 percent of the total voting-age population. Four states--New York, California, Texas, and Illinois--have a potential black electorate of 1 million or more (Table 1). The heaviest concentration of black voters is in the South, where 16.5 percent of the voting-age population is black, while the West has the smallest proportion of black voters, only 4.9 percent of the region's voting-age population. Slightly over half (52.9 percent) of the nation's black voting-age population resides in the South.

Thomas E. Cavanagh is a research associate at the Joint Center for Political Studies. He has taught at Wesleyan University and Trinity College and, most recently, was a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution. Mr. Cavanagh has also served as assistant survey research director of the Commission on Administrative Review of the U.S. House of Representatives. He has published widely on voter turnout, congressional behavior, and black politics.

Much of the black population, especially outside the South, is concentrated in the urban areas. Table 2 ranks the 50 cities with the largest numbers of voting-age blacks as of the 1980 census. New York City heads the list, with more than 1 million blacks age 18 years old or over. East Orange, New Jersey, has the highest percentage of voting-age blacks on this list (79.1 percent), followed by:

--Gary (67.2 percent)

--Washington, D.C. (65.8 percent)

--Atlanta (60.6 percent)

--Detroit (58.3 percent)

--Newark (55.1 percent)

--Birmingham (50.6 percent)

--Baltimore (50.4 percent)

--New Orleans (48.9 percent)

--Richmond (45.9 percent).

Blacks make up 20 percent or more of the total population in 84 of the 435 newly redrawn U.S. congressional districts, and they make up 20 percent or more of the voting-age population in 72 of these districts. Table 3 shows the locations of these districts, their incumbent U.S. representatives, and the Congressional Education Associates' rating of the incumbents' roll call voting records on issues of concern to minorities. The vast majority of these districts, 49, are in the South; 8 are in the Northeast; 11 in the Midwest; and 4 in the West, all in California. Blacks are well situated to deliver a swing vote in several southern districts where incumbents have won by narrow margins in recent years. For example, the black vote is widely believed to have been a crucial factor in the 1982 reelection victories of Wayne Dowdy in Mississippi and Ike Andrews in North Carolina. Black voters likewise provided the crucial margin to Democratic challengers in the 1982 defeats of several Republicans in the South, including Albert Lee Smith of Alabama, Eugene Johnston of North Carolina, John Napier of South Carolina, and Robert Daniel of Virginia.

There are 14 House districts in which blacks are a majority of the voting-age population. All but one are in inner city areas. There are 3 such districts in Chicago, 2 in Detroit, and 1 each in Atlanta, Baltimore, Brooklyn, Cleveland, Memphis, Newark, New Orleans, and Philadelphia. The only black-majority rural district is the 2nd District in Mississippi's Delta region, in which 53 percent of the voting-age population is black. This district's 1982 Democratic nominee, black State Representative Robert Clark, narrowly lost a bid to become the first black congressman from the rural South since Reconstruction. The black proportions in the Mississippi Delta and New Orleans districts increased in December 1983 as a result of court cases that led to revisions in the 1982 district lines.

Registration

The prerequisite to electoral participation and influence is registration. Virtually without exception, the black voting-age population is concentrated in demographic categories noted for low registration. The black population is younger, less educated, more blue collar, move impoverished, less likely to be married, more likely to be composed of renters, and more southern than the white population--all factors associated with low voter participation.

When all of these factors are statistically controlled, black turnout is about equal to white turnout. In other words, the lower registration and turnout of blacks can be entirely accounted for by their relatively marginal position in a white-dominated society.*

Who are the unregistered blacks? The following capsule description of unregistered blacks is derived from the 1982 Census Bureau survey of voter registration:

- 58.3 percent are under the age of 35;
- 56.8 percent reside in the South;
- 51.8 percent live in central cities;
- 61.0 percent have a high school education;
- 61.8 percent are renters;
- 57.9 percent are unmarried;
- 53.7 percent are unemployed or not in the labor force;
- 64.7 percent had a 1982 family income under $15,000.

The peculiar history of the South still affects the registration patterns of southern blacks even today. Literacy tests, poll taxes, and other legal and extra-legal forms of coercion kept down the level of southern black registration until the mid-1960s. Passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965 heralded a new era in political participation, and since 1966, the number of blacks registered to vote in the South has increased from 3.0 million to 5.4 million, although the registration rate for southern blacks is currently well below its 1972 peak of 64.0 percent (Table 4).

In the United States as a whole, black registration increased by 573,000 between 1980 and 1982. This contrasts with a pattern of slight increases or actual declines in black registration between presidential and midterm election years since 1970 (Table 4). The 1982 surge in registration bodes well for the much more ambitious registration efforts planned for 1984. If the black registration rate equals or exceeds the peak 1968 level, a net gain of up to 2 million additional blacks to the voter registration rolls before November 1984 would be a realistic possibility.

Turnout

The same demographic factors generally determine both voter registration and turnout levels. In presidential election years, a very high proportion of those who are registered to vote also turn out to vote. This proportion is usually at least 80 percent for the black population in presidential elections and close to 90 percent for the white population (Table 5). These proportions are fairly stable from year to year at the presidential level, but they are much more variable below the presidential level, dipping to 70 percent or lower in midterm congressional elections. Thus, registration drives are likely to be most effective in producing new voters in presidential election years, when political interest is at a peak and most registrants are highly likely to vote. In nonpresidential races (such as congressional and mayoral campaigns), get-out-the-vote drives become relatively more important.

---

* The registration and turnout estimates discussed in this section are derived from Census Bureau surveys. Because there is a tendency for survey respondents to report that they have registered and voted when they have not, these figures undoubtedly overestimate registration and turnout levels for both blacks and whites.

Regional differences in electoral participation are quite striking when one examines voter turnout rates directly (Table 6). In the South, black turnout surged following the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, and it remains at a historically high level despite a subsequent mild decline. Outside the South, the pattern is much different: there was a dramatic decline in turnout from 1964 to 1976, followed by an apparent stabilization, and then a large increase in 1982. The post-1964 decline in voter participation for blacks outside the South (19.8 percent) was much more steep than that for nonsouthern whites, whose turnout declined by 12.1 percent. This precipitious drop is visible in the differences between black and white turnout presented in Table 6: In 1964, northern blacks voted at almost the same rate as northern whites, but by 1972, white turnout was 10.8 percentage points higher than black turnout outside the South.

Another noteworthy trend is the gradual shrinking of the difference in turnout levels between the North and the South. The trend toward declining regional differences is particularly pronounced among blacks. In 1964, northern black turnout was 28.0 percent higher than southern black turnout. By 1980, the margin had been reduced to 4.6 percent. Given these trends, it is not surprising that the gap between black and white turnout within the South in 1982 (4.6 percent) was identical to that outside the South. This is just one of the many ways in which, politically speaking, the South is becoming more like the rest of the country.

Many observers have been impressed by the size of the overall increase in turnout between the midterm elections of 1978 and 1982, which has apparently brought to a close two decades of steady deterioration in American electoral participation. The 5.8 percent increase among blacks nationwide was more than double the white increase of 2.6 percent. As a result, the gap separating black and white turnout was reduced to 6.9 percent nationwide. This is the smallest nationwide difference in reported voter turnout since the Census Bureau began compiling systematic data in 1964 (and almost certainly, therefore, the smallest gap ever).

The sizeable jump in black turnout occurred both inside and outside of the South. The 4.8 percent increase in southern black turnout far exceeded the 1.8 percent increase among southern whites. The most dramatic increase occurred in the North and West, where black turnout surged by 7.2 percent, compared to 3.1 percent for whites.

Partisanship and Voting

In recent years, blacks have been the single most cohesive element in the Democratic party coalition, at least in presidential elections. It is useful to remember, however, that blacks have not always been such strong supporters of the Democratic party. Before the New Deal era, blacks were just as solidly identified with the Republicans, "the party of Lincoln," which had abolished slavery during the Civil War. Most blacks were sufficiently hostile to the subsequent Jim Crow legacy of southern Democrats to maintain their Republican allegiance until the Great Depression. The economic dislocations of the Hoover era accelerated a trend toward a division of the black vote along class lines, although as late as 1932, Hoover carried the black vote in most major cities. The relief provided by New Deal programs brought about a major transition of black political loyalties by 1936. Overall, close to half of the black electorate identified with the Democrats at the dawn of modern survey research in the late 1930s (Table 7).

The current, overwhelmingly Democratic affiliation of black voters, however, is a more recent phenomenon. The first major postwar shift came in 1948, when President Harry S. Truman proposed a comprehensive package of civil rights legislation, and the Democrats then adopted a civil rights plank in their party platform that was strong enough to prompt a walkout by southern delegations and the "Dixiecrat" presidential candidacy of Strom Thurmond. The second big spurt occurred in 1964, when the Republicans nominated an outspoken opponent of that year's Civil Rights Act to run against Johnson, the president who had secured its adoption by Congress. The Democrats have maintained a roughly ten-to-one edge over the Republicans in black party identification ever since. There are economic interests as well as political loyalties underlying current black party allegiance. Not only are poor blacks dependent on government transfer programs, the black middle class is also heavily reliant on the public sector for employment opportunities and contracting arrangements.

Party identification is traditionally the strongest predictor of voting behavior. Thus, it is not surprising that the patterns in black party identification are mirrored by the patterns in black presidential voting in recent decades (Table 8). The only sizeable discrepancy occurred during the New Deal period, when Roosevelt apparently commanded substantial support from black Republicans.

The low level of black turnout has meant that the full force of the black preference for Democrats has yet to be felt in the electoral arena. A successful effort to mobilize black turnout across the country could have a striking impact on the current political balance in the United States, given the current Democratic proclivities of the black electorate.

Conversely, the status of the black vote as a consistent bulwark of the Democratic coalition presents an opportunity to the Republicans. Without black votes in several large states, the Democrats could not hope to attain a majority in the Senate or in presidential elections. Similarly, the presence of safe Democratic seats in largely black inner-city districts affords the Democrats a cushion in assembling a majority in the House of Representatives. Substantial Republican inroads into the black vote would all but eliminate the majority status of the Democratic party. Thus, the Democrats cannot afford to take the black vote for granted.

What Difference Does It Make?

Observers often wonder whether black electoral participation has produced measurable results for blacks in the political arena. Over the past decade, the most visible sign of black political progress has been the steady increase in the number of black officeholders elected across the country. The number of black elected officials has increased from 1,469 in 1970 to 5,606 in 1983 (Table 9). During that period, the number of black members of Congress has increased from 10 to 21; other important categories of office showing sizeable growth include state representatives (137 to 290) and city council members (552 to 2,030). Perhaps most striking is the increase from 48 to 247 black mayors since 1970. There are currently 19 black mayors serving in cities with a population of 100,000 or more (Table 10). Blacks now preside over four of the nation's six largest cities: Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Detroit.

The power of the black vote became vividly apparent in several key elections in 1982. Texas Governor Mark White could not have won without the strong support of black and Hispanic voters, and New York Governor Mario Cuomo owes his victories in both the Democratic primary and the general election to his backing by blacks. In addition, blacks were the decisive factor in the defeats of four conservative Republican congressmen from the South.

With such considerations in mind, black delegates are likely to be a focus of attention at both the Democratic and Republican national conventions in 1984. Fully 14.4 percent of the 1980 Democratic National Convention was comprised of black delegates (Table 11 and 12), and this proportion could rise to as high as 20 percent if state parties adhere to the Hunt Commission guidelines, which call for representation of blacks and other minorities in proportion to their share of the Democratic electorate within each state. Only 2.7 percent of the delegates to the 1980 Republican National Convention were black (Tables 13 and 14); the party hopes to improve upon this showing in 1984.

Black registration drives could have a pivotal impact on the outcome of the 1984 presidential election, as well as on the success of Republican efforts to retain control of the Senate. There are 11 states--with a total of 134 electoral votes--in which the number of unregistered potential black voters exceeds President Reagan's 1980 margin of victory (Table 15). In several of these states, a small increase in voter registration could be sufficient to shift the state from the Republican to the Democratic column in the Electoral College. For example, there are close to 1 million unregistered blacks in New York alone, where Reagan won in 1980 by only 165,469 votes. North Carolina, which has the nation's lowest black voter registration rate (43.6 percent), was carried by Reagan by only 39,383 votes, and will also be the scene of a closely fought Senate race between Republican incumbent Jesse Helms and Democratic Governor James Hunt. Other Senate incumbents whose fates could hinge on black voter registration efforts include: Thad Cochran in Mississippi, Charles Percy in Illinois, Strom Thurmond in South Carolina, and John Warner in Virginia, all Republicans. The registration drives will also strongly affect the contests for the open Senate seats in Tennessee and Texas.

Another way to gauge the potential for black leverage in the 1984 presidential race is to examine the recent history of presidential voting by state. Table 16 presents the net margin of victory for each state in each of the last six presidential elections, expressed as a percentage of the total vote. A Democratic plurality of the vote is denoted by a plus, and a Republican plurality by a minus. To summarize the partisan leanings of each state, the table also presents the median margin of victory for each state, which is calculated by rank-ordering the six victory margins for a given state from highest to lowest and then averaging the two middle figures. For example, the six election margins for the state of Connecticut range from Democratic pluralities of 35.7 percent in 1964, 7.4 percent in 1960, and 5.2 percent in 1968, to Republican pluralities of 5.2 percent in 1976, 9.7 percent in 1980, and 18.5 percent in 1972. Averaging the two middle figures (+5.2 and -5.2) yields a median victory margin of 0.0 percent. (The median is employed, rather than an average of the six elections, because the averages are distorted by the landslide elections of 1964 and 1972).

The median victory margins are summarized in a "Partisan Outlook" for each state based on the following system: a median victory margin of less than 4.0 percent is a tossup; a margin between 4.0 and 7.9 percent is leaning; a margin between 8.0 and 14.9 percent is strong; and a margin of 15 percent or more is safe. From examining the table, it can be seen that the Republicans have a secure base in the midwestern Farm Belt and the Rocky Mountains; adding together their "safe," "strong," and "leaning" states yields a total of 167 electoral votes. The Democratic base is much more scattered: Georgia, Maryland, Minnesota, New York, Rhode Island, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia, comprising a total of 94 electoral votes. The remaining, tossup states hold a total of 277 electoral votes, suggesting that based on recent electoral trends, the 1984 presidential race is likely to be closely contested.

The battleground states cluster into two groups: Frost Belt industrial states (the so-called Rust Bowl) and the South. In all but 4 of the 20 tossup states, denoted by asterisks in the table, the black percentage of the voting-age population is higher than the median victory margin, meaning that blacks are in a position to serve as a crucial swing vote at the national level. In other words, a Democratic presidential victory in 1984 is inconceivable without a high black turnout and a large Democratic share of the black vote in northern cities and the South.

Overall, the black electorate is becoming an increasingly visible and strategically crucial voting bloc. But realizing the full potential of black influence in the voting booth will require a redoubled effort to ensure that blacks are registered and turn out to vote in unprecedented numbers.

Table 1. Black voting age-population, by state, November 1982

State	Black voting-age population	Total voting-age population	Black percentage of total
New York	1,631,000	13,153,000	12.4
California	1,298,000	18,277,000	7.1
Texas	1,198,000	10,793,000	11.1
Illinois	1,077,000	8,346,000	12.9
Georgia	982,000	4,040,000	24.3
Florida	923,000	8,169,000	11.3
North Carolina	897,000	4,417,000	20.3
Louisiana	813,000	3,055,000	26.6
Michigan	767,000	6,554,000	11.7
Pennsylvania	720,000	8,883,000	8.1
Ohio	717,000	7,793,000	9.2
Virginia	714,000	4,078,000	17.5
Maryland	664,000	3,190,000	20.8
Alabama	644,000	2,812,000	22.9
South Carolina	625,000	2,291,000	27.3
New Jersey	610,000	5,544,000	11.0
Mississippi	541,000	1,745,000	31.0
Tennessee	479,000	3,375,000	14.2
Missouri	339,000	3,640,000	9.3
District of Columbia	320,000	487,000	65.8
Indiana	265,000	3,904,000	6.8
Arkansas	233,000	1,650,000	14.1
Kentucky	176,000	2,620,000	6.7
Massachusetts	149,000	4,394,000	3.4
Connecticut	143,000	2,378,000	6.0
Oklahoma	138,000	2,299,000	6.0
Wisconsin	111,000	3,464,000	3.2
Kansas	84,000	1,759,000	4.8
Washington	76,000	3,154,000	2.4
Colorado	71,000	2,225,000	3.2
Delaware	63,000	443,000	14.2
Arizona	52,000	2,061,000	2.5
West Virginia	45,000	1,408,000	3.2
Nevada	35,000	661,000	5.3
Minnesota	33,000	2,988,000	1.1
Nebraska	30,000	1,144,000	2.6
Iowa	25,000	2,094,000	1.2
Oregon	23,000	1,954,000	1.2
Rhode Island	18,000	726,000	2.5
New Mexico	16,000	936,000	1.7
Hawaii	14,000	716,000	1.9
Alaska	9,800	287,000	3.4
Utah	6,900	986,000	0.7
New Hampshire	2,800	697,000	0.4
Maine	2,500	831,000	0.3
Wyoming	2,500	354,000	0.7
Idaho	2,000	661,000	0.3
North Dakota	1,900	473,000	0.4
South Dakota	1,400	482,000	0.3
Montana	1,100	569,000	0.2
Vermont	800	379,000	0.2
Total	17,790,700	169,339,000	10.5

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Note: Estimates were derived as follows: The total voting-age population as of November 1982, is a Census Bureau estimate from Current Population Reports, series P.25, no. 916 (July 1982), Table 1. This figure was multiplied by the 1980 census figure for the black percentage of the total voting-age population to arrive at the estimated black voting-age population in November 1982. The totals in this table differ slightly from those in Table 4, which are derived from the biennial Census Bureau surveys of voter participation.

Table 2. Top 50 cities ranked by black voting-age population, 1980

City	Black voting-age population	Total voting-age population	Black percentage of total
New York, NY	1,202,125	5,306,172	22.7
Chicago, IL	764,574	2,152,196	35.5
Detroit, MI	489,017	838,721	58.3
Philadelphia, PA	433,964	1,251,052	34.7
Los Angeles, CA	352,259	2,221,112	15.9
Washington, D.C.	325,518	494,842	65.8
Baltimore, MD	289,638	574,832	50.4
Houston, TX	285,722	1,142,883	25.0
New Orleans, LA	194,326	397,183	48.9
Memphis, TN	192,587	458,338	42.0
Atlanta, GA	188,504	311,139	60.6
Cleveland, OH	170,302	414,378	41.1
Dallas, TX	167,308	660,286	25.3
St. Louis, MO	134,750	334,649	40.3
Newark, NJ	119,534	217,022	55.1
Oakland, CA	109,032	256,845	42.5
Birmingham, AL	105,536	208,654	50.6
Indianapolis, IN	97,789	500,360	19.5
Jacksonville, FL	87,652	385,339	22.7
Cincinnati, OH	86,203	288,203	29.9
Milwaukee, WI	84,250	464,346	18.1
Boston, MA	82,560	441,311	18.7
Columbus, OH	81,467	419,004	19.4
Kansas City, MO	78,882	329,452	23.9
Richmond, VA	78,163	170,189	45.9
Nashville-Davidson, TN	72,470	341,596	21.2
Pittsburgh, PA	69,900	333,393	21.0
Gary, IN	66,467	98,937	67.2
Norfolk, VA	63,396	201,366	31.5
Charlotte, NC	62,704	227,088	27.6
San Francisco, CA	62,610	562,363	11.1
Buffalo, NY	61,508	267,724	23.0
Jackson, MI	59,508	142,913	41.6
Miami, FL	58,664	272,771	21.5
Fort Worth, TX	55,628	280,751	19.8
Louisville, KY	55,329	223,779	24.7
San Diego, CA	52,342	664,106	7.9
Shreveport, CA	51,966	143,457	36.2
Baton Rouge, CA	51,160	159,562	32.1
Dayton, OH	48,933	147,643	33.1
Mobile, AL	45,879	142,392	32.2
Savannah, GA	44,128	99,561	44.3
Montgomery, AL	43,738	124,112	35.2
East Orange, NJ	43,617	55,166	79.1
Tampa, FL	39,625	203,378	19.5
Denver, CO	39,591	381,488	10.4
Flint, MI	39,474	108,741	36.3
San Antonio, TX	39,214	532,642	7.4
Toledo, OH	38,379	254,899	15.1
Columbus, GA	37,527	119,445	31.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Table 3. Congressional districts in which blacks comprise 20 percent or more of the voting-age population

State	District number	Location	Black percentage of voting-age population	Incumbent (party)	Percentage received by incumbent, 1982	CEA rating, 1982
Alabama	1	Mobile	28	Edwards (R)	62	30
	2	Montgomery	27	Dickinson (R)	50	10
	3	Anniston	25	Nichols (D)	96	40
	6	Birmingham	31	Erdreich (D)	53	-
	7	Tuscaloosa	30	Shelby (D)	97	35
Arkansas	4	Pine Bluff	25	Anthony (D)	66	75
California	8	Oakland-Berkeley	24	Dellums (D)	56	95
	28	Los Angeles-Inglewood	42	Dixon (D)	79	80
	29	Los Angeles-Downey	46	Hawkins (D)	80	95
	31	Compton-Carson	31	Dymally (D)	72	80
District of Columbia		At-Large	66	Fauntroy (D)	83	-
Florida	2	Tallahassee	22	Fuqua (D)	62	45
	3	Jacksonville	25	Bennett (D)	84	50
	17	Miami (North)	22	Lehman (D)	100	80
Georgia	1	Savannah	30	Thomas (D)	64	-
	2	Albany	30	Hatcher (D)	100	60
	3	Columbus	31	Ray (D)	71	-
	5	Atlanta	60	Fowler (D)	81	75
	8	Macon	32	Rowland (D)	100	-
	10	Augusta	23	Barnard (D)	100	45
Illinois	1	Chicago (South Side)	90	Hayes (D)	94	-
	2	Chicago (Lake Calumet)	66	Savage (D)	87	85
	7	Chicago (West Side)	60	Collins (D)	87	100
Indiana	1	Gary	22	Hall (D)	57	-
	10	Indianapolis	25	Jacobs (D)	67	90

Table 3 (Continued)

State	District number	Location	Black percentage of voting-age population	Incumbent (party)	Percentage received by incumbent, 1982	CEA rating, 1982
Louisiana	2	New Orleans	59*	Boggs (D)	77	75
	4	Shreveport	29	Roemer (D)	100	15
	5	Monroe	28	Huckaby (D)	83	45
	6	Baton Rouge	23	Moore (R)	87	30
	8	Alexandria	36	Long (D)	59	75
Maryland	5	Prince George's County	31	Hoyer (D)	80	90
	7	Baltimore (West)	70	Mitchell (D)	88	100
Michigan	1	Detroit-Highland Park	66	Conyers (D)	97	75
	13	Detroit (Central)	67	Crockett (D)	88	90
Mississippi	1	Tupelo	23	Whitten (D)	71	70
	2	Mississippi Delta	53	Franklin (R)	50	-
	3	Meridian	27	Montgomery (D)	93	10
	4	Jackson	41	Dowdy (D)	53	60
Missouri	1	St. Louis (North)	46	Clay (D)	66	90
	5	Kansas City	20	Wheat (D)	58	-
New Jersey	10	Newark	51	Rodino (D)	83	100
New York	6	Queens (Jamaica)	47	Addabbo (D)	96	90
	11	Brooklyn (Bedford-Stuyvesant)	47	Towns (D)	84	-
	12	Brooklyn (Crown Heights)	78	Owens (D)	91	-
	16	Manhattan (Harlem)	49	Rangel (D)	98	95
	18	Bronx (South)	44	Garcia (D)	99	75
North Carolina	1	Cape Hatteras	32	W. Jones (D)	81	80
	2	Durham	36	Valentine (D)	54	-
	3	Goldsboro	25	Whitley (D)	64	55
	7	Fayetteville	25	Rose (D)	71	60
	9	Charlotte	21	J. Martin (R)	57	25

Table 3 (Continued)

State	District number	Location	Black percentage of voting-age population	Incumbent (party)	Percentage received by incumbent, 1982	CEA rating, 1982
Ohio	21	Cleveland (East)	58	Stokes (D)	86	95
Pennsylvania	1	Philadelphia (South)	29	Foglietta (D)	72	95
	2	Philadelphia (West)	76	Gray (D)	76	95
South Carolina	1	Charleston	29	Hartnett (R)	54	10
	2	Columbia	32	Spence (R)	59	25
	3	Anderson	20	Derrick (D)	90	65
	5	Rock Hill	29	Spratt (D)	68	-
	6	Florence	37	Tallon (D)	52	-
Tennessee	5	Nashville	20	Boner (D)	80	75
	9	Memphis	51	Ford (D)	72	80
Texas	9	Beaumont-Galveston	20	Brooks (D)	68	55
	18	Houston (Central)	39	Leland (D)	83	100
	24	Dallas (South)	29	Frost (D)	73	90
	25	Houston (South)	23	Andrews (D)	60	-
Virginia	1	Newport News	29	Bateman (R)	54	-
	2	Norfolk	21	Whitehurst (R)	100	25
	3	Richmond	27	Bliley (R)	59	25
	4	Portsmouth	37	Sisisky (D)	54	-
	5	Danville	22	Daniel (D)	100	20
Wisconsin	5	Milwaukee (North Side)	22	Moody (D)	64	-

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

* Black percentage of total population under the plan passed in December 1983. The black percentage of the voting-age population was unavailable at press time.

Table 4. Reported black voter registration and turnout, 1966-1982

Year	Total voting-age population (thousands)	Total registered (thousands)	Registration rate (%)	Black voting-age population (thousands)	Blacks registered (thousands)	Registration rate (%)	Total voted (thousands)	Blacks voted (thousands)
				United States				
1966	112,800	79,295	70.3	10,533	6,345	60.3	62,518	4,398
1968	116,535	86,574	74.3	10,935	7,238	66.2	78,964	6,300
1970	120,701	82,181	68.1	11,472	6,971	60.8	65,888	4,992
1972	136,203	98,480	72.3	13,493	8,837	65.5	85,766	7,032
1974	141,299	87,889	62.2	14,175	7,778	54.9	63,164	4,786
1976	146,548	97,761	66.7	14,927	8,725	58.5	86,698	7,273
1978	151,646	94,883	62.6	15,636	8,921	57.1	69,587	5,812
1980	157,085	105,035	66.9	16,423	9,849	60.0	93,066	8,287
1982	165,483	105,996	64.1	17,624	10,422	59.1	80,310	7,581
				South				
1966	34,445	21,433	62.2	5,684	3,008	52.9	14,806	1,870
1968	34,941	24,165	69.2	5,991	3,690	61.5	20,994	3,094
1970	37,186	23,707	63.7	6,196	3,565	57.6	16,624	2,278
1972	42,550	29,224	68.7	6,950	4,450	64.0	23,573	3,324
1974	44,794	26,785	59.8	7,401	4,107	55.5	16,105	2,219
1976	47,145	30,455	64.6	7,987	4,503	56.4	25,869	3,649
1978	48,752	29,284	60.1	8,279	4,654	56.2	19,282	2,771
1980	50,561	32,745	64.8	8,507	5,048	59.3	28,103	4,104
1982	55,357	34,152	61.7	9,500	5,410	56.9	23,139	3,637

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Table 5. Reported voter participation as a percentage of those registered to vote, by region and race, 1968-1982

	Congressional elections				Presidential elections			
	1982	1978	1974	1970	1980	1976	1972	1968
United States	75.8	73.3	71.9	80.2	88.5	88.8	87.1	91.3
White	76.1	74.2	72.9	80.9	89.0	89.2	87.9	91.6
Black	72.7	65.1	61.5	71.6	84.2	83.2	79.5	87.0
North and West	79.6	76.7	77.0	84.2	89.8	90.4	89.9	92.8
White	79.6	77.0	77.5	84.5	90.0	90.7	90.1	93.0
Black	78.7	71.3	69.9	79.7	87.1	85.7	84.6	90.3
South	67.8	65.8	60.1	70.1	85.8	85.0	80.6	86.8
White	68.0	67.0	61.3	71.3	86.7	85.6	81.7	87.4
Black	67.2	59.5	54.0	63.9	81.3	81.0	74.7	83.8

Source: Recalculated from Census Bureau data.

Table 6. Reported voter participation as a percentage of voting-age population, by region and race, 1964-1982

	Congressional elections					Presidential elections				
	1982	1978	1974	1970	1966	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
United States										
White	49.9	47.3	46.3	56.0	57.0	60.9	60.9	64.5	69.1	70.7
Black	43.0	37.2	33.8	43.5	41.7	50.5	48.7	52.1	57.6	58.5
Difference	6.9	10.1	12.5	12.5	15.3	10.4	12.2	12.4	11.5	12.2
North and West										
White	53.1	50.0	50.0	59.8	61.7	62.4	62.6	67.5	71.8	74.7
Black	48.5	41.3	37.9	51.4	52.1	52.8	52.2	56.7	64.8	72.0
Difference	4.6	8.7	12.1	8.4	9.6	9.6	10.4	10.8	7.0	2.7
South										
White	42.9	41.1	37.4	46.4	45.1	57.4	57.1	57.0	61.9	59.6
Black	38.3	33.5	30.0	36.8	32.9	48.2	45.7	47.8	51.6	44.0
Difference	4.6	7.6	7.4	9.6	12.2	9.2	11.4	9.2	10.3	15.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Table 7. Black party identification, 1937-1980

Year	Democrats (%)	Republicans (%)	Independents and others (%)	Presidential winner
1937	44	37	19	Roosevelt (D)
1940	42	42	16	Roosevelt (D)
1944	40	40	21	Roosevelt (D)
1948	56	25	19	Truman (D)
1952	63	17	21	Eisenhower (R)
1956	56	20	25	Eisenhower (R)
1960	53	21	26	Kennedy (D)
1964	82	8	11	Johnson (D)
1968	92	3	6	Nixon (R)
1972	76	11	14	Nixon (R)
1976	85	6	9	Carter (D)
1980	81	8	11	Reagan (R)

Sources: Figures for 1937-1948 from Gallup Poll data reprinted in Everett Carll Ladd, Jr. and Charles D. Hadley, Transformations of the American Party System (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), pp. 60, 112; for 1952-1980, from Survey Research Center data.

Table 8. Black support for democratic presidential nominees, 1936-1980

Year	Democratic support (%)
1936	71 (Roosevelt)
1940	67 (Roosevelt)
1944	68 (Roosevelt)
1948	77 (Truman)
1952	79 (Stevenson)
1956	61 (Stevenson)
1960	68 (Kennedy)
1964	94 (Johnson)
1968	85 (Humphrey)
1972	87 (McGovern)
1976	85 (Carter)
1980	86 (Carter)

Sources: Figures for 1937-1948 from Gallup Poll data reprinted in Everett Carll Ladd, Jr. and Charles D. Hadley, Transformations of the American Party System (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), pp. 60, 112; for 1952-1980, from Gallup Poll data for non-whites in the Gallup Opinion Index (December 1980), p. 74.

Table 9. Number of blacks in selected categories of elected officials, 1970-1983

Year	Members of Congress	State senators	State representatives	Mayors	City council-members	Total black elected officials
1970	10	31	137	48	552	1,469
1971	14	36	162	81*	653	1,860
1972	14	37	169	86*	780	2,264
1973	16	42	196	82	840	2,621
1974	17	40	196	108	1,080	2,991
1975	18	53	223	135	1,237	3,503
1976	18	53	223	152	1,442	3,979
1977	17	56	238	162	1,560	4,311
1978	17	56	238	170	1,618	4,503
1979	17	70	237	175	1,696	4,607
1980	17	70	247	182	1,809	4,912
1981	18	76	257	204	1,818	5,038
1982	18	73	257	223	1,872	5,160
1983	21	85	290	247	2,030	5,606

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

* Total includes deputy mayors, 1971 and 1972 only.

Table 10. Cities with black mayors (1980 population over 50,000)

City	Total population	% Black	Mayor	Expiration date
Chicago, IL	3,005,078	40.0	Harold WASHINGTON	4/87
Los Angeles, CA	2,996,763	17.0	Thomas BRADLEY	7/85
Philadelphia, PA	1,588,220	40.2	W. Wilson GOODE	12/87
Detroit, MI	1,203,339	63.1	Coleman YOUNG	12/85
Washington, DC	637,651	70.3	Marion BARRY	12/86
New Orleans, LA	557,482	55.3	Ernest MORIAL	3/86
Atlanta, GA	425,022	66.6	Andrew YOUNG	12/85
Newark, NJ	349,248	46.9	Kenneth GIBSON	6/86
Oakland, CA	339,288	46.9	Lionel J. WILSON	6/85
Charlotte, NC	314,447	31.0	Harvey B. GANTT	12/85
Birmingham, AL	284,413	55.6	Richard ARRINGTON	11/83
Richmond, VA	219,214	51.3	Roy A. WEST	6/84
Spokane, WA	171,300	1.6	James CHASE	12/85
Flint, MI	159,611	41.4	James A. SHARP, Jr.	12/85
Gary, IN	151,953	70.8	Richard G. HATCHER	12/87
Hartford, CT	136,392	33.9	Thirman L. MILNER	11/85
Pasadena, CA	119,374	20.6	Loretta T. GLICKMAN	5/85
Berkeley, CA	103,328	20.1	Gus NEWPORT	4/86
Roanoke, VA	100,247	22.0	Noel TAYLOR	6/84
Camden, NJ	84,910	53.0	Melvin PRIMAS	7/85
Compton, CA	81,286	74.8	Walter TUCKER	12/85
Carson, CA	81,221	29.3	Thomas G. MILLS	4/86
East Orange, NJ	77,025	83.6	Thomas COOKE, Jr.	12/85
Pontiac, MI	76,715	37.2	Wallace HOLLAND	4/86
Evanston, IL (Evanston Township)	73,706	21.4	Arnold WINFIELD	4/85
West Palm Beach, FL	62,530	28.2	Eva MACK	3/85
East Saint Louis, IL	55,200	95.6	Earl E. OFFICER	5/87

Table 11. Number of black delegates at Democratic National Conventions, 1932-1980

Election year	Total number delegates	Number black delegates	% Black delegates to total	Black alternates
1932	1,154	0	--	10
1936	1,204	12	0.1	18
1940	1,094	7	0.6	18
1944	1,176	11	0.9	13
1948	1,234	17	1.3	*
1952	1,230	33	2.6	*
1956	1,372	24	1.7	21
1960	1,521	46	3.0	37
1964	2,316	65	2.8	55
1968	3,084	209	6.7	173
1972	3,103	452	14.6	*
1976	3,048	323	10.6	170
1980	3,331	481	14.4	297

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Note: Definitive data on black delegates to Democratic Conventions are not available. These figures were compiled from a variety of sources.

* Alternates not specified.

Table 12. Black delegate representation at 1972, 1976, and 1980 Democratic National Conventions, by state

State	Total delegates, 1980	Black percent of population, 1980	Black delegates					
			1980*		1976		1972	
			#	%	#	%	#	%
Alabama	45	26.2	17	37.7	6	17.1	10	27.0
Alaska	11	3.0	0	0.0	1	6.3	1	5.0
Arizona	29	3.0	3	10.3	1	4.0	2	8.0
Arkansas	33	18.3	7	21.2	2	7.7	5	18.5
California	306	7.0	38	12.4	33	11.8	51	18.8
Colorado	40	3.0	2	5.0	4	11.4	5	13.8
Connecticut	54	6.0	6	11.1	3	5.9	4	7.8
Delaware	14	14.3	2	14.2	0	0.0	3	15.0
District of Columbia	19	71.1	12	63.1	8	47.1	14	70.0
Florida	100	15.3	18	18.0	4	4.9	10	12.3
Georgia	63	25.9	14	22.2	13	26.0	16	30.1
Hawaii	19	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Idaho	17	0.3	0	0.0	1	6.3	2	10.0
Illinois	179	12.8	28	15.6	21	12.4	17	10.0
Indiana	80	6.9	9	11.2	7	9.3	11	14.4
Iowa	50	1.2	4	8.0	2	4.3	3	6.5
Kansas	37	4.8	2	5.4	1	2.9	4	11.4
Kentucky	50	7.2	2	4.0	2	4.4	5	10.6
Louisiana	51	29.8	19	37.2	6	14.6	19	43.2
Maine	22	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Maryland	59	17.8	12	20.3	11	20.8	7	13.2
Massachusetts	111	3.1	6	5.4	4	3.9	12	11.8
Michigan	141	7.2	28	19.8	28	21.1	27	20.5
Minnesota	75	0.9	5	6.6	4	6.2	6	9.4
Mississippi	32	36.8	11	34.3	8	33.3	14	56.0
Missouri	77	10.3	10	12.9	9	12.7	9	12.3
Montana	19	0.3	0	0.0	**	**	1	5.0
Nebraska	24	2.7	2	8.3	1	4.4	1	4.2
Nevada	12	5.7	1	8.3	2	12.5	2	10.0
New Hampshire	19	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
New Jersey	113	10.7	20	17.6	9	8.3	17	15.6
New Mexico	20	1.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
New York	282	11.9	48	17.0	25	9.1	35	12.6
North Carolina	69	22.2	16	23.1	9	14.8	13	20.3
North Dakota	14	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0

Table 12 (Continued)

State	Total delegates, 1980	Black percent of population, 1980	Black delegates 1980* #		1976 #		1972 #	
			#	%	#	%	#	%
Ohio	161	9.1	23	14.2	27	17.8	27	17.6
Oklahoma	42	6.7	6	14.2	4	10.8	3	7.7
Oregon	39	1.3	1	2.5	0	0.0	2	5.9
Pennsylvania	185	8.6	21	11.3	18	10.1	19	10.4
Rhode Island	23	2.7	0	0.0	1	4.6	2	9.1
South Carolina	37	30.5	16	43.2	7	22.6	11	34.4
South Dakota	19	0.2	0	0.0	1	5.9	0	0.0
Tennessee	55	15.8	9	16.3	8	17.4	16	32.7
Texas	152	12.5	24	15.7	16	12.3	13	10.0
Utah	20	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Vermont	12	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
Virginia	64	18.5	17	26.5	9	16.7	15	28.3
Washington	58	2.1	10	17.2	2	3.8	3	5.8
West Virginia	35	3.9	1	2.8	1	3.0	0	0.0
Wisconsin	75	2.9	8	10.6	3	4.4	5	7.5
Wyoming	11	0.8	1	9.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
Guam	4	**	0	0.0	**	**	0	0.0
Puerto Rico	41	**	0	0.0	**	**	0	0.0
Virgin Islands	4	80.0	2	50.0	0	0.0	4	66.7
Latin America	4	**	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Democrats Abroad	4	**	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
TOTALS	3,331	11.2	481	14.4	332	10.7	450	14.9

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

*The 1980 figures for black delegates reflect the Joint Center's count as of July 25, 1980. It is possible that changes and/or additions occurred subsequent to that date.

**Data on the racial identification of delegates were unavailable.

Note: In 1972 and 1976, the total number of Democratic delegates was 3,106 and 3,008, respectively.

Table 13. Number of black delegates at Republican National Conventions, 1912 - 1980

Election year	Total number delegates	Number black delegates	% of black delegates to total	Black alternates
1912	1,078	65	6.0	*
1916	985	35	3.5	*
1920	984	29	2.9	*
1924	1,109	39	3.5	1
1928	1,098	49	4.4	55
1932	1,154	26	2.2	27
1936	1,003	45	4.5	34
1940	1,000	32	3.2	53
1944	1,057	18	1.7	27
1948	1,094	41	3.7	34
1952	1,206	29	2.4	34
1956	1,323	36	2.7	41
1960	1,331	22	1.6	28
1964	1,308	14	1.0	29
1968	1,333	26	1.9	52
1972	1,348	56	4.2	84
1976	2,259	76	3.4	74
1980	1,993	55	2.7	66

Sources: Negro Year Book, 1931-32, and Republican National Conventions, 1912-68.

*Alternates not specified.

Table 14. Black delegate representation at 1972, 1976, and 1980 Republican National Conventions, by state

State	Total delegates, 1980	Black percent of population, 1980	Black delegates					
			1980		1976		1972	
			#	%	#	%	#	%
Alabama	27	26.2	0	0.0	1	2.7	1	5.5
Alaska	19	3.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Arizona	28	3.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.5
Arkansas	19	18.3	1	5.3	0	0.0	3	16.6
California	168	7.0	7	4.2	5	3.0	4	4.1
Colorado	31	3.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Connecticut	35	6.0	1	2.7	1	2.9	0	0.0
Delaware	12	14.3	1	8.3	1	5.9	2	16.7
District of Columbia	14	71.1	7	50.0	6	42.9	3	33.3
Florida	51	15.3	1	2.0	1	1.5	1	2.5
Georgia	36	25.9	1	2.8	1	2.1	1	4.1
Hawaii	14	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Idaho	21	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Illinois	102	12.8	3	2.9	8	7.9	2	3.4
Indiana	54	6.9	3	5.6	2	3.7	1	3.1
Iowa	37	1.2	1	2.7	0	0.0	1	4.5
Kansas	32	4.8	1	3.1	1	2.9	1	5.0
Kentucky	27	7.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.1
Louisiana	30	29.8	1	3.2	1	2.4	2	10.0
Maine	21	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Maryland	30	17.8	2	6.7	3	7.0	3	11.5
Massachusetts	42	3.1	0	0.0	1	2.3	0	0.0
Michigan	82	7.2	7	8.5	7	8.3	5	10.4
Minnesota	34	0.9	0	0.0	1	2.4	1	3.8
Mississippi	22	36.8	0	0.0	2	6.7	1	7.1
Missouri	37	10.3	1	2.7	1	2.0	1	3.3
Montana	20	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Nebraska	25	2.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Nevada	17	5.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	8.3
New Hampshire	22	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

Table 14 (Continued)

State	Total delegates, 1980	Black percent of population, 1980	Black delegates					
			1980		1976		1972	
			#	%	#	%	#	%
New Jersey	66	10.7	2	3.0	1	1.5	2	5.0
New Mexico	22	1.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
New York	123	11.9	5	4.1	11	7.1	8	9.0
North Carolina	40	22.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	6.2
North Dakota	17	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Ohio	77	9.1	0	0.0	5	5.2	1	1.8
Oklahoma	34	6.7	1	2.9	1	2.8	0	0.0
Oregon	29	1.3	1	3.5	1	3.3	0	0.0
Pennsylvania	83	8.6	4	4.8	7	6.8	1	1.7
Rhode Island	13	2.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
South Carolina	25	30.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.5
South Dakota	22	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Tennessee	32	15.8	1	3.1	3	7.0	1	3.8
Texas	80	12.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Utah	21	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Vermont	19	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Virginia	51	18.5	0	0.0	1	2.0	3	10.0
Washington	37	2.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
West Virginia	18	3.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Wisconsin	34	2.9	0	0.0	1	2.2	0	0.0
Wyoming	19	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Guam	4	--	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Puerto Rico	14	--	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Virgin Islands	4	80.0	3	75.0	2	50.0	1	33.3
TOTALS	1,993	11.2	55	2.7	76	3.4	56	4.2

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Table 15. Black voter registration, 1982

Rank by number of unregistered blacks	State	Unregistered black voting-age population	Registered black voting-age population	Total black voting-age population**	Percentage of voting-age blacks registered	Reagan victory margin, 1980
1	New York*	894,000	737,000	1,631,000	45.2	165,459
2	Texas	520,000	678,000	1,198,000	56.6	629,558
3	North Carolina*	506,000	391,000	897,000	43.6	39,383
4	Georgia	472,000	510,000	982,000	51.9	-236,787
5	California	462,000	836,000	1,298,000	64.4	1,441,183
6	Florida	459,000	464,000	923,000	50.3	627,476
7	Virginia*	331,000	383,000	714,000	53.6	237,435
8	Pennsylvania	294,000	426,000	720,000	59.2	324,332
9	South Carolina*	292,000	333,000	625,000	53.3	11,456
10	Alabama*	272,000	372,000	644,000	57.7	17,462
11	Illinois	257,000	819,000	1,077,000	76.1	376,681
12	Maryland	256,000	407,000	664,000	61.4	-45,555
13	Louisiana*	256,000	557,000	813,000	68.5	84,400
14	New Jersey	247,000	363,000	610,000	59.5	399,193
15	Ohio	247,000	470,000	717,000	65.6	454,131
16	Michigan	214,000	553,000	767,000	72.1	253,693
17	Tennessee*	158,000	322,000	479,000	67.1	4,710
18	District of Columbia	149,000	171,000	320,000	53.5	-102,611
19	Mississippi*	131,000	410,000	541,000	75.8	11,808
20	Arkansas*	85,000	147,000	233,000	63.3	5,123
21	Indiana	84,000	182,000	265,000	68.5	411,459
22	Missouri	79,000	260,000	339,000	76.7	142,999
23	Connecticut	68,000	75,000	143,000	52.3	135,478
24	Massachusetts*	64,000	86,000	149,000	57.3	2,423
25	Kentucky*	62,000	114,000	176,000	64.9	17,857
26	Oklahoma	56,000	82,000	138,000	59.2	293,544
27	Wisconsin	13,000	97,000	111,000	87.9	107,261

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

* In these states, the number of unregistered voting-age blacks in 1982 exceeded the Republican margin of victory in the 1980 presidential election.

** Because all numbers are rounded to the nearest thousand, some numbers in this column do not equal the sum of numbers in the two preceding columns.

Table 16. Presidential victory margins, 1960-1980, and black percentage of voting-age population, by state.

State	Electoral votes	1960	1964	1968	1972	1976	1980	Median	Partisan outlook	Black percentage of voting-age population
Northeast	113									
Connecticut *	8	+7.4	+35.7	+5.2	-18.5	-5.2	-9.7	0.0	Tossup	6.0
Delaware *	3	+1.6	+22.2	-3.5	-20.4	+5.3	-2.4	-0.4	Tossup	14.2
Dist. of Columbia	3	--	+71.0	+63.6	+56.5	+65.1	+61.4	+63.6	Safe D	65.8
Maine	4	-14.1	+37.6	+14.2	-23.0	-0.8	-3.3	-2.1	Tossup	0.3
Maryland	10	+7.2	+31.0	+1.7	-23.9	+6.1	+2.9	+4.5	Leans D	20.8
Massachusetts	13	+20.6	+52.8	+30.1	+9.0	+15.7	-0.2	+18.1	Safe D	3.4
New Hampshire	4	-6.8	+27.2	-8.2	-29.1	-10.2	-29.3	-9.2	Strong R	0.4
New Jersey *	16	+0.8	+31.7	-2.1	-24.8	-2.2	-13.4	-2.1	Tossup	11.0
New York	36	+5.2	+37.3	+5.5	-17.0	+4.4	-2.7	+4.8	Leans D	12.4
Pennsylvania *	25	+2.4	+30.2	+3.6	-20.0	+2.7	-7.1	+2.5	Tossup	8.1
Rhode Island	4	+27.2	+61.8	+32.2	-6.2	+11.3	+10.5	+19.2	Safe D	2.5
Vermont	3	-17.3	+32.6	-9.3	-26.3	-11.8	-6.0	-10.5	Strong R	0.2
South	177									
Alabama *	9	+14.7	-38.9	+4.8	-46.9	+13.1	-1.4	+1.7	Tossup	22.9
Arkansas *	6	+7.1	+12.7	-0.4	-38.2	+30.1	-0.6	+3.3	Tossup	14.1
Florida	21	-3.0	+2.3	-9.6	-44.1	+5.3	-17.0	-6.3	Leans R	11.3
Georgia	12	+25.1	-8.2	-3.6	-50.6	+33.7	+14.8	+5.6	Leans D	24.3
Kentucky *	9	-7.2	+28.3	-6.1	-29.6	+7.2	-1.5	-3.8	Tossup	6.7
Louisiana *	10	+21.8	-13.6	+4.7	-27.4	+5.7	-5.5	+0.1	Tossup	26.6
Mississippi *	7	+11.6	-74.2	+9.5	-58.6	+1.9	-1.3	0.3	Tossup	31.0
North Carolina *	13	+4.2	+12.3	-10.3	-40.6	+11.0	-2.1	∓1.0	Tossup	20.3
Oklahoma	8	-18.0	+11.5	-15.7	-49.7	-1.3	-25.5	-16.8	Safe R	6.0
South Carolina	8	+2.4	-17.8	-8.5	-43.1	+13.1	-1.3	-4.9	Leans R	27.3
Tennessee *	11	-7.1	+11.0	-9.8	-37.9	+13.0	-0.3	-3.7	Tossup	14.2
Texas *	29	+2.0	+26.8	+1.2	-32.9	+3.1	-13.9	+1.6	Tossup	11.1
Virginia	12	-5.4	+7.3	-10.9	-37.7	-1.3	-12.7	-8.1	Strong R	17.5
West Virginia	6	+5.4	+35.8	+8.8	-27.2	+16.1	+4.5	+7.1	Leans D	3.2

Table 16 (Continued)

State	Electoral votes	1960	1964	1968	1972	1976	1980	Median	Partisan outlook	Black percentage of voting-age population
Midwest	137									
Illinois *	24	+0.2	+19.0	-2.9	-18.5	-2.0	-7.9	-2.4	Tossup	12.9
Indiana	12	-10.4	+12.4	-12.3	-32.8	-5.6	-18.3	-11.3	Strong R	6.8
Iowa	8	-13.5	+24.0	-12.2	-17.1	-1.0	-12.7	12.4	Strong R	1.2
Kansas	7	-21.4	+9.0	-20.1	-38.2	-7.6	-24.6	-20.7	Safe R	4.8
Michigan *	20	+2.1	+33.6	+6.7	-14.4	-5.4	-6.5	-1.6	Tossup	11.7
Minnesota	10	+1.4	+27.8	+12.5	-5.5	+12.9	+3.9	+8.4	Strong D	1.1
Missouri *	11	+0.6	+28.1	-1.2	-24.6	+3.6	-6.9	-0.3	Tossup	9.3
Nebraska	5	-24.2	+5.2	-28.0	-41.0	-20.7	-39.5	-26.1	Safe R	2.6
North Dakota	3	-10.9	+16.1	-17.7	-26.3	-4.8	-37.9	-14.3	Strong R	0.4
Ohio	23	-6.6	+25.8	-2.2	-21.5	+0.2	-10.6	-4.4	Leans R	9.2
South Dakota	3	-16.4	+11.2	-11.3	-8.7	-1.5	-28.8	-10.0	Strong R	0.3
Wisconsin	11	-3.7	+24.4	-3.6	-9.7	+1.6	-4.7	-3.6	Tossup	3.2
West	111									
Alaska	3	-1.8	+31.8	-2.6	-23.5	-22.2	27.9	-12.4	Strong R	3.4
Arizona	7	-11.1	-1.0	-19.8	-31.2	-16.6	-32.4	-18.2	Safe R	2.5
California *	47	-0.5	+18.3	-3.1	-13.5	-1.7	-16.8	-2.4	Tossup	7.1
Colorado	8	-9.3	+23.1	-9.2	-28.0	-11.4	-24.0	-10.3	Strong R	3.2
Hawaii	4	+0.0	+57.6	+21.1	-25.0	+2.5	+1.9	+2.2	Tossup	1.9
Idaho	4	-7.6	+1.8	-26.1	-38.2	-22.5	-41.3	-24.3	Safe R	0.3
Montana	4	-2.5	+18.4	-9.0	-20.0	-7.4	-24.4	-8.2	Strong R	0.2
Nevada	4	+2.4	+17.2	-8.2	-27.4	-4.4	-35.6	-6.3	Leans R	5.3
New Mexico	5	+0.8	+18.6	-12.1	-24.5	-2.4	-18.2	-7.2	Leans R	1.7
Oregon	7	-5.3	+27.7	-6.0	-10.2	-0.2	-9.6	-5.6	Leans R	1.2
Utah	5	-9.6	+8.6	-19.4	-41.2	-28.8	-52.2	-24.1	Safe R	0.7
Washington	10	-2.4	+24.6	+2.1	-18.3	-3.9	-12.4	-3.1	Tossup	2.4
Wyoming	3	-10.0	+7.2	-20.3	-38.5	-19.5	-34.6	-19.9	Safe R	0.7
USA	538	+0.2	+22.5	-0.7	-23.2	+2.1	-9.7	-0.2		

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

* Tossup states in which the black percentage of the voting-age population is greater than the median presidential victory margin.

JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES
BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Bishop John Hurst Adams
Chairman
Congress of National Black Churches
Washington, D.C.

William B. Boyd
President
The Johnson Foundation
Racine, Wisconsin

Kenneth B. Clark
President
Clark, Phipps, Clark & Harris
New York, New York

Hortense Williams Dixon
Houston, Texas

The Honorable Mervyn Dymally
U.S. Representative
Washington, D.C.

Marian Wright Edelman
President
Children's Defense Fund
Washington, D.C.

Luther Hilton Foster
Chairman of the Board
Moton Memorial Institute
Washington, D.C.

Wendell G. Freeland, Esquire
Chairman
Freeland & Kronz
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Jayne Brumley Ikard
Washington, D.C.

Louis E. Martin
Assistant Vice President for Communications
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Percy E. Sutton
Chairman of the Board
Inner City Broadcasting Corporation
New York, New York

Eddie N. Williams
President
Joint Center for Political Studies
Washington, D.C.

James D. Wolfensohn
James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.
New York, New York

Eleanor Farrar,
Secretary to the Board
Vice President
Joint Center for Political Studies
Washington, D.C.

SELECTED JCPS PUBLICATIONS

Black Americans and the Shaping of U.S. Foreign Policy: Proceedings of a JCPS Roundtable, 1981. ISBN 0-941410-18-8. $4.95
Black Elected Officials and their Constituencies, Thomas E. Cavanagh and Denise Stockton, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-28-5. $4.95.
Black Employment in City Government, 1973-1980, Peter Eisinger, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-32-3. $4.95.
Black Politics 1980, JCPS Office of Research, 1980. ISBN 0-941410-10-2.
  A Guide to the Democratic National Convention. ISBN 0-941410-11-0. $4.95. *A Guide to the Republican National Convention*. ISBN 0-941410-12-9. $4.95.
Blacks on the Move: A Decade of Demographic Change, William P. O'Hare, Jane-yu Li, Roy Chatterjee, and Margaret Shukur, abridged by Phillip Sawicki, 1982. ISBN 0-941410-25-0. $4.95.
The Changing Patterns of Black Family Income, 1960-1982, Henry E. Felder, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-31-5. $4.95.
Energy and Equity: Some Social Concerns, edited by Ellis Cose, 1979. ISBN 0-941410-09-9. $8.50.
Focus, JCPS monthly newsletter. ISSN 0740-0195. $12.00 per annum.
Foreign Trade Policy and Black Economic Advancement: Proceedings of a JCPS Roundtable, 1981. ISBN 0-941410-19-6. $4.95.
How to Use Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, third edition, Barbara Y. Phillips, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-27-7. $4.95.
JCPS Congressional District Fact Book, edited by Thomas E. Cavanagh, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-34-X. $5.95.
National Roster of Black Elected Officials, volume 12, 1982. ISSN 0092-2935. $23.00.
The Nineteen Eighties: Prologue and Prospect, Kenneth B. Clark and John Hope Franklin, 1981. ISBN 0-941410-20-X. $2.95.
Picking a President: A Guide to Delegate Selection in the States, JCPS Office of Research, 1980. ISBN 0-941410-15-3. $4.95.
A Policy Framework for Racial Justice, (statement by thirty black scholars), 1983. Introduction by Kenneth B. Clark and John Hope Franklin. ISBN 0-941410-30-7. $4.95.
Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980, Gary Orfield, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-29-3. $4.95.
Race and Political Strategy, edited by Thomas E. Cavanagh, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-33-1. $4.95.
Vote Dilution, Minority Voting Rights, and the Courts, Stephen L. Wasby, 1982. ISBN 0-941410-22-6. $4.95.
The Voting Rights Act and Black Electoral Participation, Kenneth H. Thompson, 1982. ISBN 0-941410-24-2. $4.95.
Wealth and Economic Status: A Perspective on Racial Inequity, by William P. O'Hare, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-35-8. $4.95.

The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the political process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs.

Joint Center for Political Studies, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20004, 202 626-3500

11.2

Election '84
Report #2

JCPS

Jesse Jackson's Campaign: The Primaries and Caucuses

Thomas E. Cavanagh

Lorn S. Foster

Joint Center for Political Studies Washington, D.C. 1984

The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national nonprofit institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs.

Opinions expressed in Joint Center publications are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the other staff, officers, or governors of the Joint Center or of the organizations supporting the center and its research.

We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation, which helped to make this publication possible.

ISBN 0-941410-45-5

Copyright ©1984, Joint Center for Political Studies, Inc.
All Rights Reserved
Printed in the United States of America

1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004

Contents

Foreword iv

The Decision to Run 1

Campaign Objectives 2

Black Political Empowerment 3

A Multiethnic Coalition? 7

Media Coverage 11

Campaign Organization and Finance 12

Implications for the Future 14

Tables

1. Southern voter registration, 1980-84 16
2. Turnout changes, 1980-1984, and 1984 first-time voters in Democratic presidential primaries 17
3. Congressional districts in which blacks comprise 20 percent or more of the voting-age population 18
4. 1984 Democratic presidential primary voting by race 24
5. Black 1984 Democratic presidential primary voting by age 25
6. Black voting in Alabama and Georgia primaries 26
7. Jesse Jackson for President Campaign Committee disbursements 27

Foreword

"Jesse Jackson's Campaign: The Primaries and Caucuses" is the second JCPS Election '84 Report. It provides a preliminary assessment of the Jackson campaign during the Democratic delegate selection process.

As the report points out, Jesse Jackson's objectives were more complex than the usual goal of winning the presidential nomination. Therefore, the authors explore both the purposes of the campaign and the extent to which those purposes were fulfilled. This is not, of course, the last word on the subject, and the Joint Center will publish an in-depth analysis of the campaign and its significance after the November election.

This report was prepared by Thomas E. Cavanagh, research associate, and Lorn S. Foster, senior fellow, under the supervision of Milton D. Morris, director of research at the Joint Center. Much of the data was compiled by Devonda Byers, research assistant. Naima Washington and Panola Golson typed the manuscript, and Constance Toliver formated the final copy for printing. We are grateful to these and other staff members for their work on this report.

Eddie N. Williams
President
June 1984

Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign marks a political watershed for black America. Jackson has amassed more national convention delegates than any other black man or woman in the nation's history. He has inspired strong and widespread grass-roots enthusiasm in the black community and has raised to prominence a number of issues of special concern to blacks. Although he has had only sporadic success in his vision of a multiethnic "Rainbow Coalition," the concept is likely to play an important role in progressive politics for years to come.

The Decision to Run

Speculation on a black presidential candidacy grew out of a series of meetings of black political, religious, and civil rights leaders, which the press christened the "Black Leadership Family." The group was organized during the spring of 1983, largely through the initiative of Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary and Mayor Andrew Young of Atlanta, to assess the status of blacks within the Democratic party. Blacks were dissatisfied with the ineffectual Democratic congressional opposition to President Reagan's initiatives in 1981, as well as the widespread defection of white Democratic party leaders and voters from Chicago mayoral nominee Harold Washington.

In fact, the original impetus for the meetings was to pressure the Democratic National Committee to spur support for Washington's candidacy and to commit resources to a major black voter registration effort. The possibility of a black presidential candidacy was raised as a potential means of obtaining leverage for black interests within the party.

Thomas E. Cavanagh is a research associate at the Joint Center. He has taught at Wesleyan University and Trinity College. Most recently he was a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution. A political scientist, he has published widely on congressional behavior and voter turnout.

Lorn S. Foster, a senior fellow at the Joint Center, is on leave from Pomona College in Claremont, California, where he is associate professor of government and black studies. Previously, he was director of the Institute for Ethnic Studies at the University of Nebraska.

In March 1983, the Joint Center published a paper entitled "Outlook for a Black Presidential Candidacy," which served as a background paper for the Black Leadership Family discussions of the topic. The paper identified the possible benefits of a black presidential candidacy as: "giving prominence to issues of special concern to blacks"; "encouraging black voter registration"; "assembling a cohesive black delegate bloc"; and "serving as a trial run for a future black candidacy." The possible costs included: "taking delegates from the more desirable of the viable candidates"; "reducing the eventual nominee's responsiveness to black concerns"; "failing to elect a significant number of black delegates"; "making the Democratic nominee appear the captive of blacks and other 'special interest groups'"; "intensifying racial polarization in the electorate"; and "fragmenting rather than unifying black political leadership." But, the report noted, "a Democratic presidential victory in 1984 is inconceivable without a strong black showing in northern cities and the South. This consideration reduces somewhat the risk of a rift with the Democratic nominee in the event of a black presidential nomination bid," because "whoever wins the Democratic nomination cannot afford to alienate the black vote."

At a meeting in Chicago, on June 20, 1983, the group endorsed the idea of a black presidential candidacy without endorsing a specific individual. Nonetheless, such major black leaders as Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, NAACP President Benjamin Hooks, and National Urban League President John Jacob continued to oppose the idea.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1983, one of the foremost proponents of such a candidacy was Jesse Jackson. Because of his high visibility and popularity among blacks, and his expressions of interest in the possibility of running himself, attention gravitated toward Jackson as a possible candidate. Early polls indicated that such a candidacy held promise: the May 1983 Garth Analysis found him running third in the Democratic nomination race behind Walter Mondale and John Glenn, supported by 9 percent of Democrats nationally and fully 42 percent of black Democrats. He also enjoyed an astounding 78 to 7 percent ratio of "favorable" to "unfavorable" ratings among blacks. Jackson was named "the most important black leader in America" by 51 percent of blacks in an October 1983 ABC News poll, vastly out-distancing Andrew Young (with 8 percent), Martin Luther King, Sr. (4 percent), and Benjamin Hooks (2 percent). No other person was named by more than 1 percent.

Campaign Objectives

The purpose of a campaign for the presidential nomination is to win a majority of the convention delegates and thereby become a party's candidate. But several factors have made Jesse Jackson's campaign distinctly unusual--particularly his lack of experience as a political officeholder or even political candidate, his controversial career as a civil rights activist, and the roots of his candidacy in a general interest in "a black candidate." Most observers concluded from the outset that his nomination was an unattainable goal, and the election of more than a few hundred delegates was highly improbable. Even the vice-presidential nomination, a traditional consolation prize for unsuccessful presidential candidates, seemed extremely unlikely.

The campaign's objectives, then, and the criteria for evaluating the campaign's success in meeting these objectives are different from those of more traditional presidential campaigns.

The closest modern parallel is the 1968 Democratic campaign of Eugene McCarthy, which had three overriding objectives: to block the renomination of President Lyndon Johnson; to pressure Congress into halting and reversing the escalation of American military involvement in Indochina; and (in the latter stages of the campaign) to expand participation in the delegate selection process beyond the traditional core of party elites. All three of these objectives were in fact achieved. The campaign was therefore a success on its own terms, rather than on the conventional terms of securing the presidential nomination for McCarthy.

The Jackson campaign, like the McCarthy campaign, is in a sense a "symbolic" effort. To some, the fact that it has no hope of culminating in Jackson's nomination means it is futile and pointless. But McCarthy's "symbolic" 1968 nomination campaign had a far more lasting effect on the American political process than did Hubert Humphrey's "victorious" nomination campaign. Jesse Jackson's campaign will probably have an equally lasting effect.

The Jackson campaign appears to have four major objectives. The campaign is achieving success in three of these areas, which together can be considered under the rubric of "black empowerment": to increase black political participation; to alter party rules and state laws to increase the electoral impact of this participation; and to articulate issues and positions of concern to minorities. The fourth objective, the creation of a multiethnic coalition of progressive forces within the Democratic Party, has met with very limited success.

Black Political Empowerment

Increasing Black Political Participation

The campaign sought to stimulate black political participation at several levels.

Encouraging black voter registration and turnout. During his "Southern Crusade" of the summer of 1983, Jackson sought to generate widespread political enthusiasm among blacks. His campaign is generally credited with significantly increasing black voter registration, especially in the South. However, much credit is also due to such nonpartisan groups as the A. Philip Randolph Institute, NAACP, Operation Big Vote, Voter Education Project, and PUSH, which conducted voter registration programs that predated the Jackson campaign. These programs were independent of the campaign, although they benefited from the visibility Jackson gave to the goal of black voter participation (Table 1).

NBC found that 20 percent of black primary voters in Florida and Georgia had registered within the previous six months, and CBS found that from 4 to 11 percent of black voters were voting for the first time ever. In most states, black primary turnout increased dramatically over the 1980 level, while white turnout increased far less, or even decreased (Table 2).

Encouraging black candidates to run at lower levels of office. It is too early to judge whether more blacks are running for office because of Jackson's candidacy. Jackson had hoped that his presence on the primary ballot would lend a "coat-tails" advantage to blacks competing concurrently for lower-level nominations. Moreover, the increase in black registration and get-out-the-vote organizing was expected to increase the black turnout in both primary and general election battles. And, in the longer run, the improved turnout was supposed to inspire additional black candidates to run for office by increasing their chances of winning.

Any increase in black candidates could yield important dividends in future years. Black city council members and school board members elected in 1984 could gain the visibility and experience to mount viable campaigns in state legislative, mayoral, and congressional elections in the future.

So far, in 1984, the record is mixed. Black registration gains clearly were a factor in the election of a black candidate, James W. Holley III, as mayor of Portsmouth, VA. However, black Congresswoman Katie Hall of Indiana was defeated in her bid for renomination; black candidates Ken Spaulding and Howard Lee lost congressional bids to unseat incumbent white Democrats in North Carolina; and Roland Burris failed to win the Democratic Senate nomination in Illinois.

Encouraging networking among black political activists. Planning and staffing a presidential campaign requires a veritable army of workers from the national down to the precinct level. The process of identifying and training these people yields an extensive nationwide network of black political operatives possessing a valuable body of expertise, which can be mobilized on behalf of black political interests in the future.

Assembling a cohesive bloc of black convention delegates. At national conventions, delegates tend to take their cues on platform and rules controversies from the candidates whom they are pledged to support. At the 1984 convention for the first time, a large bloc of delegates is pledged to a black candidate.

As of this writing, there are 384 delegates pledged to Jackson, including add-on delegates. Most of them are black. Another 35 delegates pledged to Mayor Harold Washington are considered to be Jackson supporters.

Nor are these the only black delegates to the convention: over 300 of Mondale's delegates are black. Thus, this convention will have both the largest number and the largest proportion of black delegates ever.

Altering Party Rules and State Laws

The campaign also sought to alter party rules and state laws to accentuate the impact of black participation. Jackson has had major objectives in this area.

Eliminating the runoff primary. In nine Southern states and Oklahoma, a runoff is mandated whenever no candidate receives a majority of the primary vote. The runoff provision is generally believed to harm the chances of black candidates to win nominations wherever blacks are a minority of the electorate, owing to the difficulty black candidates usually have in attracting white support. The issue is a divisive one, both within the Democratic party and among blacks; and some observers feel the issue does not warrant the priority placed upon it by Jackson. Jackson argues, however, that by producing more black candidates, the change would almost certainly lead to the election of more blacks to offices at all levels of government in the South, which is one of his major objectives.

The politics of the issue are quite complex. The major losers would be white Democratic incumbents in areas where a large proportion of the registered Democrats are black. While the chances of black candidates to be nominated in some areas would be increased, the abolition of the run-off election might backfire on black aspirations in such black-majority cities as Atlanta, Birmingham, and Memphis, where a white candidate could conceivably win a single-round primary with a plurality of the vote against two or more black opponents. Furthermore, it is not clear that eliminating run-off primaries would produce more black officeholders as well as more black nominees. If the change succeeded in producing more black nominees, it could benefit Republicans, to the extent that white Democratic voters might defect from black Democratic nominees in general elections.

One compromise position is a runoff requirement when a primary winner fails to receive 40 percent of the vote, as proposed by Governor Richard Riley of South Carolina. This would eliminate situations in which a viable black candidate enjoys a sizable lead in the first round primary, only to lose because of white bloc voting in the runoff. At the same time, it would guard against the nomination of candidates who enjoyed so little support within the party that they would stand virtually no chance in the general election. Jackson has not endorsed the 40 percent compromise, but his delegates supported it overwhelmingly in a resolution passed at the South Carolina state convention in mid-April.

Fully enforcing provisions of the Voting Rights Act. In addition to the runoff primary, Jackson has highlighted several other specific electoral mechanisms he considers violations of the Voting Rights Act. These mechanisms include racial gerrymandering--i.e., diluting the black vote by dispersing it across several districts to minimize the creation of black-majority districts; annexation of white-majority jurisdictions (such as suburbs) to black-majority jurisdictions (such as cities), again in order to dilute the black vote; and the dual registration system in Mississippi, whereby voters must register in one location for state and national elections and another for local elections. Dual registration is a particular hardship for the poor in rural areas, many of whom are black.

The national party has no technical jurisdiction and little practical leverage over such provisions, which must be prevented by the Justice Department under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act or challenged in court under Section 2. Other than going on record in favor of full enforcement of the Voting Rights Act as it applies to these provisions, there is little the national party can do. The only real sanction available to the national party is to refuse to honor the credentials of national convention delegates from states that have not changed objectionable election laws, and as a practical matter, this is highly unlikely to occur. Even a platform plank by the runoff primary might well be sufficiently controversial to provoke a major platform fight.

Changing delegate selection procedures. Selection of convention delegates, of course, is within the party's own bailiwick. Jackson and others have expressed opposition to provisions they believe hamper the chances of an "outsider" candidate. These include the "threshold," "bonus," and "loophole" provisions. The "threshold" provisions require candidates to receive a minimum share of the vote in a given congressional district (generally about 20 percent) in order to receive any delegates within that district, and a similar share of the statewide vote in order to receive any statewide delegates. Under the "bonus" delegate provision, one congressional district delegate is given to the winner in the district. The "loophole" provision allows the election of delegates district-wide. Because voters are free to vote for all of the delegates on a given candidate's slate in the district, this provision in effect permits winner-take-all voting by congressional district. Furthermore, the large body of delegate seats reserved for state and party elected officials is unlikely to benefit "outsider" candidates as much as well-known centrist candidates with close ties to national party leadership.

The 1984 delegate selection rules were drafted by a special party commission chaired by Governor James Hunt of North Carolina. At the time of the commission's deliberations in 1982, many party leaders and political scientists expressed concern that the party rules were resulting in the nomination of relatively weak candidates such as George McGovern and Jimmy Carter. They felt that such candidates enjoyed little support from the party's leaders or its traditional core constituencies, leaving the party vulnerable to defeat in presidential elections. Thus, the commission attempted to design a nomination process that would reduce the chances of lesser-known candidates to attain the nomination.

At the time, the rules appeared to boost the nomination prospects of Edward Kennedy and Walter Mondale, who were the two most acceptable candidates in the field in the eyes of black leaders. Black criticism of the rules therefore did not begin in earnest until the eve of Jacksons declaration, when the negative implications for a black presidential candidate became fully apparent.

The Hunt Commission rules inhibited the potential of candidates representing any political minority, and not just a racial minority. If Jackson's vote had been more widely and evenly distributed, he could have exceeded the threshold in more districts and won more delegates, although the fact that Jackson's constituency was highly concentrated in a few districts enabled him to clear the threshold in these districts by a wide margin. Reubin Askew, Alan Cranston, and Ernest Hollings also suffered from the Hunt Commission provisions--in some respects more than Jackson, because their constituency bases were less geographically concentrated than Jackson's, making it even more difficult for them to clear the thresholds for district delegates.

Jackson has sometimes seemed to suggest a preference for precise proportionality at all stages of the delegate selection process. He has even attempted to secure additional delegates this year on these grounds in negotiations with party leaders. A strict proportionality would slow the "winnowing" process by which the weaker candidates are eliminated in the early primaries and caucuses. It is rare for any candidate to command a majority in the polls throughout the nomination season, so strictly proportional delegate representation might actually increase the chances for a brokered convention. Ironically, then, the system that would translate popular votes into delegate allocations with the least distortion might result in a "backroom" choice of a nominee free from grass-roots influence.

There are no precedents for reallocating delegates throughout the country by revising the rules after delegates have been selected, as Jackson is currently advocating. (There are precedents for credentials challenges against individual state delegations on the grounds--often spurious--that state delegate selection rules were unfairly enforced or were in violation of national party rules, but that is a different issue.) A few states, such as Alaska, have already relaxed the threshold requirement in response to a memorandum from the Democratic National Committee suggesting that Jackson should receive an equitable share of at-large delegates.

While the 1984 delegate selection procedures are unlikely to be changed to any great extent at this late date, Jackson may have considerable influence in revising the rules to be followed in 1988. Presumably, the party will create another reform commission to deliberate over the rules in 1986. The threshold and loophole provisions are likely to be altered or eliminated.

Articulating a Progressive Agenda

The third major set of objectives for Jackson's campaign concerns the articulation of an agenda of special concern to minorities. Jackson's presence in the campaign has already given heightened prominence to the issue of South Africa. For example, Mondale made a detailed statement on the issue during the Pittsburgh League of Women Voters' debate in Pittsburgh on April 5, when he called for a cutoff of new American investment if there is no progress on human rights in South Africa. He also advocated a ban on flights into the United States by South African Airways, a ban on International Monetary Fund loans to South Africa, and a ban on the importation of Krugerrands.

One of the more striking aspects of Jackson's campaign has been his emphasis on foreign policy issues. In addition to South Africa, Central America has been a major area of concern. Jackson has stressed opposition to American attempts to destablize Nicaragua and to other forms of military involvement in Central America, and he has sought more open relations with Cuba. He proposed an "even-handed" policy in the Middle East, including recognition of the Palestinian desire for political self-determination; increased trade with the Third World; and a nuclear freeze. His proposals to cut American military spending in absolute terms (rather than merely slow the current rate of spending increase) also have obvious ramifications for deemphasizing American reliance on the military as an instrument of foreign policy.

Jackson's international agenda continues the evolution of a progressive black voice in foreign policy that was evident in Martin Luther King's opposition to the war in Vietnam. By and large, blacks still identify with the liberal side of the "new priorities" debate of the early 1970s, which called for shifting spending away from defense to social programs. Such a position also was reflected in the Congressional Black Caucus budget proposal of 1981, and the recently released "People's Platform" of the National Black Coalition for 1984. Black policy concerns are by no means restricted to the domestic arena, and the increasing black interest in foreign policy is well represented in Jackson's campaign.

On domestic issues, Jackson's positions have been relatively conventional. He has advocated passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, job-training programs, minority set-asides for government contracts, and restoring the social spending cutbacks enacted under the Reagan administration. All of these views are well within the mainstream of Democratic party policy.

A presidential campaign affords an unparalleled opportunity to set forth an agenda for American politics. The issues on which Jackson has focused have been unexpected, particularly his emphasis on foreign policy rather than domestic economic issues. Nonetheless, Jackson is on the verge of success on one subject (South Africa) and may have contributed to keeping party policy from moving substantially to the right to counter the anticipated appeal of Reagan's economic platform to more conservative voters on a number of other issues.

A Multiethnic Coalition?

Jackson's campaign has been less successful in its effort to forge a multiethnic coalition and win many votes outside the black community. This should not come as a surprise, considering the difficulty that black candidates at lower levels (such as congressional or mayoral races) have encountered in attracting white votes.

The problem was inherent in the use of the campaign as a vehicle for "black empowerment." To the extent that the campaign has concentrated on this objective, it has appeared less relevant to other constituencies. On the other hand, too extensive an emphasis on "non-black" issues might have reduced the symbolic importance of the campaign to blacks and hence its ability to mobilize what everybody considered Jackson's primary political base.

Jackson's announcement speech eloquently struck a balance between these two objectives. He developed the theme of the black experience as a microcosm of the experience of all oppressed peoples in the United States:

> This candidacy is not for blacks only. This is a national campaign growing out of the black experience and seen through the eyes of the black perspective--which is the experience and perspective of the rejected. Because of this experience, I can empathize with the plight of Appalachia because I have known poverty. I know the pain of anti-Semitism because I have felt the humiliation of discrimination. I know firsthand the shame of bread lines and the horror of hopelessness and despair because my life has been dedicated to empowering the world's rejected to become respected. Thus, our perspective encompasses and includes more of the American people and their interest than do most other experiences.

As the campaign got under way, however, strategic realities dictated an initial concentration on mobilizing the black vote. The first rule of campaign targeting is to "go hunting where the ducks are," and Jackson's most promising constituency was clearly black Americans. The congressional districts with heavy black populations indeed proved to be his most potent political base (Table 3).

Building a Black Base

Chronologically, his campaign went through three phases in winning black support: an initial phase of hesitation before and immediately after his announcement, during which he and Mondale were essentially tied with about one-third of the black vote apiece; Super Tuesday (March 13), when he edged ahead of Mondale to take a majority of the black vote in Alabama, Florida, and Georgia; and the phase beginning in Illinois on March 20 when he began to win an overwhelming majority (75 percent or more) of the black vote, a share he held in primary states for the remainder of the campaign (Table 4).

Within the black community, Jackson's strongest support came from younger blacks, while older blacks were relatively more likely to vote for Mondale. It was the shift of older blacks from Mondale to Jackson that resulted in the landslide margins he began to roll up in the black community beginning in Illinois (Table 5). No demographic variables other than age systematically distinguish Jackson voters from other black voters (Table 6).

In the South, rural blacks were somewhat more favorable to Jackson than urban blacks. This was especially clear in Alabama, where Mayor Richard Arrington delivered a majority of the black vote to Mondale in Birmingham, while Jackson carried rural blacks by as much as two to one. A similar (though less dramatic) difference appeared in Georgia between blacks in the Atlanta area (where such leaders as Julian Bond and Coretta Scott King supported Mondale) and those in the rest of the state. Although data are lacking, most observers believe Detroit Mayor Coleman Young and the United Auto Workers delivered a majority of the black vote to Mondale in the Michigan caucuses.

In general, where black political leadership lined up organizational strength behind Mondale, Jackson's share of the black vote was held down. In areas where black leaders placed their organizations behind Jackson (as in New Orleans or Washington, D.C.) Jackson's black voter support was extremely high, usually in excess of 80 percent.

To some extent, the likelihood that a major black elected official would endorse Jackson was a function of the black percentage in that official's electoral constituency. Big-city black mayors and black members of congress were most likely to support Jackson if they represent black-majority constituencies (e.g., Mayors Marion Barry of Washington, Kenneth Gibson of Newark, and Richard Hatcher of Gary, and Congressmen John Conyers, Walter Fauntroy, William Gray, Major Owens, Gus Savage, and Louis Stokes) while officials with constituencies at or near a white majority (e.g., Mayors Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, Wilson Goode of Philadelphia, and Andrew Young of Atlanta, and Congressmen Mervyn Dymally, Mickey Leland, and Charles Rangel) were more likely to support Mondale or remain neutral. Politically speaking, it was probably "safer" to heed black grass-roots support for Jackson when an official did not need to worry about adverse reaction from white constituents, politicians, and business leaders. Of course, those blacks who hold office in racially mixed constituencies are likely to have shown responsiveness to white as well as black constituencies in the past and to have ties to the Democratic establishment.

Appeal to Whites and Hispanics

Jackson has shown very little ability to expand his base beyond the black community. As described in Jackson's announcement speech, the Rainbow Coalition encompasses "whites, blacks, Hispanics, Indian and Native Americans, Asians, women, young people, old people, gay people, laborers, small farmers, small businesspersons, peace activists, and environmentalists." Yet his one-third share of the Hispanic vote in New York was his best showing among any nonblack electorate in any state (Table 4).

Although Jackson's share of the black vote went up as the campaign progressed, his share of the white vote appears to have declined. The extensive literature on black mayoral campaigns has consistently shown three blocs of white voters to be especially receptive to black candidates: young people, the college-educated, and Jews. Jackson's prospects for attracting Jewish support were slim even before the campaign began, because of Jackson's visit to the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1979 and his history of controversial statements with regard to Israel and the Holocaust. They evaporated altogether after he was quoted in the Washington Post referring to Jews as "hymies" and New York City as "Hymietown." His handling of the incident--temporizing before finally admitting to the statements--only compounded the political damage by keeping the issue alive in the press for two full weeks. (By way of contrast, Senator Ernest Hollings referred to Mexican-Americans as "wetbacks" in 1983. He apologized shortly afterward and the issue vanished before it could do lasting damage.)

Aside from Jews, other liberal white constituencies shifted their presidential preferences repeatedly during 1983 and early 1984. A bloc of about 10 to 15 percent of the Democratic electorate appears to have been searching for a progressive alternative to the "centrist" (in Democratic Party terms) Walter Mondale. The very unconventionality of Jackson's candidacy was potentially a major source of appeal to such voters, especially college students. Not being an elected official afforded Jackson freedom to stake out uncompromising positions, because he did not need to fear the reactions of constituents.

A sizable segment of this liberal bloc appears to have supported Cranston because of the nuclear freeze issue in the spring and summer of 1983, supported McGovern after his announcement in August 1983, and then briefly shifted to Jackson in the aftermath of his announcement of his trip to Syria at the turn of the year. Jackson's best showing among whites was probably the 16 percent he received in a Boston Globe poll of the 98 percent white New Hampshire electorate in February. The reporting of the "Hymie" comments in late February undoubtedly contributed to his decline to 5 percent in the actual primary returns.

Another important factor, however, was Glenn's collapse. Glenn's challenge to Mondale had been based on ideology: he claimed that Mondale's issue positions and his constituency base were both too liberal to command support in mainstream America. Glenn highlighted Mondale's vulnerabilities, but he was unable to capitalize on them because he failed to articulate an alternative vision of his own. Moreover, there were not enough conservatives in the Democratic party's primary electorate to dislodge a candidate as squarely positioned in the party's ideological center as Mondale.

Hart, by contrast, challenged Mondale on stylistic grounds, portraying him as a representative of "the past." This could be read by younger liberals as an attack on old-line party bosses and interest group leaders and by older conservatives as an attack on traditional New Deal/Great Society liberalism. Thus, Hart was ideally positioned to capture non-Mondale sentiment on both the left and the right.

The combination of Hart's emergence and the "Hymie" incident evidently foreclosed the possibility that Jackson would attract a significant share of the white liberal vote. By raising doubts about Jackson's adherence to his own professed ideals of tolerance and respect for people of all ethnicities, the ethnic slurs went to the core of Jackson's potential appeal to whites: the perceived sharing of a body of "liberal" values. The controversy over the statements of Minister Louis Farrakhan, and Jackson's long refusal to repudiate his support, only aggravated the doubts of white liberals on this score.

The net effect was to set a very low ceiling on Jackson's share of the white vote. He failed to receive more than 9 percent of the white vote in any state for which exit poll results are available, despite his impressive showings in some of the later debates. A Louis Harris poll found that a plurality of those who watched the Columbia University debate with Hart and Mondale (moderated by Dan Rather) felt that Jackson had "won" the debate; yet he received only 6 percent of the white vote in New York.

Jackson's problems with Hispanics are of a somewhat different nature. Because Hispanics perceived Jackson's campaign as being heavily black-oriented, they apparently felt like junior partners in the Rainbow Coalition. Most major Hispanic leaders endorsed Mondale.

Jackson's 34 percent share of the Hispanic vote (largely Puerto Rican) in New York was mainly a result of local factors. Blacks and Puerto Ricans have a long history of working together politically in New York, backing one another's candidates and lobbying together in the state legislature. Minority hostility toward Mayor Ed Koch is currently encouraging speculation about a black mayoral candidate to oppose his reelection bid in 1985. Thus, the New York presidential primary may have been a "warm up" for the mayoral race in the same sense that the high black turnout in the Illinois governor's race in 1982 proved to be a harbinger of the black activism that unseated Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne and elected Harold Washington in 1983.

During the campaign, Jackson downplayed the appeal to traditional social values that was a staple of his speeches before black audiences for many years. In such appearances, he had often emphasized self-reliance, discipline, education, the family, the church, and black entrepreneurial activity. This message is not often associated with liberal social and economic policies, and it is one that white America generally does not associate with blacks. Jackson might well have improved his standing among whites generally and Hispanics in particular by discussing these values more frequently in his campaign. On occasions when he did, the response was favorable.

For example, in the Columbia University debate, when Dan Rather asked each candidate for an example of a sacrifice he would ask of the American people, Jackson talked eloquently of the need for parents to ensure that their children did not slight their homework to watch television. With that response, Jackson spoke not as a "black candidate" but as a concerned parent. By more fully incorporating this broadly appealing side of his persona into his campaign message, Jackson might have fostered a constructive public dialogue between the races.

Reintegrating the concerns of American liberalism with more traditional social values has been a successful theme for others, most notably New York Governor Mario Cuomo. For Jackson, it could have paid dividends in the form of goodwill and a sympathetic white hearing for black political aspirations. The benefits to the liberal cause in general could have been even greater.

Mel King, a former black state senator, caused a flurry of excitement by qualifying for the run-off in his 1983 mayoral campaign in Boston, although he lost the run-off to Raymond Flynn. King was highly innovative in crafting issue appeals to explore such possibilities of interracial dialogue. He made the concept of the Rainbow Coalition an organizing principle for his campaign by framing issues in such a way as to scramble existing racial divisions and rearrange political blocs along class lines. For example, he advocated a shift from at-large to district representation in the Boston city council, which furthered the aspirations of the South Boston Irish as well as blacks. He also proposed that half of all construction jobs on city contracts be reserved for city residents--in effect creating "affirmative action for white people," and recasting the whole affirmative action debate as a positive-sum game for Boston residents rather than a negative-sum game between the races. Framing issues and policies with this kind of creativity can do a great deal to enhance the opportunities for coalition building.

Media Coverage

The Jackson campaign has been a difficult story for the media to cover. On the one hand, the media have been reluctant to appear overly critical of Jackson for fear of appearing racist. On the other hand, they fear appearing unprofessional by withholding criticism and giving Jackson a "free ride." One result has been a tendency toward fairly literal reporting of Jackson's speeches and the enthusiastic response they often receive, in contrast to the "inner political motive" variety of speculation that has characterized reporting on the other candidates. Coverage of Jackson has in this respect been rather less subjective than the coverage of Hart or Mondale.

The "symbolic" nature of the campaign has proven to be a major source of difficulty to the media. While it is undoubtedly true that Jackson's chances of nomination were virtually nil, the frequent repetition of this assertion (no matter how accurate) risked taking on the quality of a self-fulfilling prophecy. The ordinary criteria of electing delegates and winning primaries were largely irrelevant to the true meaning of Jackson's effort. The media were therefore shorn of their normal methods of evaluating the success of a presidential campaign.

The constant references to Jackson as a "black presidential candidate" may have reinforced an impression among whites that Jackson was a candidate only for blacks. This theme has become more prominent in recent weeks, with the propagation of the statement that Jackson "is really running to be president of black America" (whatever that means). For example, Marvin Kalb asked on "Meet the Press," "Are you a black man who happens to be an American running for the presidency, or are you an American who happens to be a black man running for the presidency?" As Jackson noted in reply, "You ask a funny Catch-22 kind of question." The dichotomy between blackness and Americanism implicit in the question can be interpreted as a casual slur on Jackson's patriotism, if not the patriotism of black America in general.

The result of such dilemmas has been a curiously one-dimensional quality to much of the media coverage, especially in the early phases of the campaign. Jackson has been "good copy." His dynamic presence in public appearances was sufficient to attract heavy television news coverage. Jackson's "free media" exposure reached a peak around the time of the expedition to Syria. Following the "Hymie" incident and the national media coverage of Louis Farrakhan's remarks on Washington Post reporter Milton Coleman, who had reported Jackson's use of the term "hymie," the tone of the media coverage and commentary took a sharply negative turn. The media seemed almost relieved to be able to criticize a black candidate in the name of defending liberal values.

Campaign Organization and Finance

From its inception, Jesse Jackson's presidential effort has been organized more like a movement than an election campaign. Its structure derives more from the black church and the civil rights movement than from traditional electoral politics. Grassroots activity in many local areas preceded any direction from the national campaign headquarters.

The result was considerable confusion and lack of coordination. In the days immediately following Jackson's announcement of his candidacy, there weren't even enough telephone lines in the Washington national headquarters for operatives desiring to establish local offices to make contact with the national campaign. Since the announcement came on November 3, much later than that of any of the other candidates, there was little time to gather signatures or file papers to get on state ballots. Indeed, the campaign came within a few hours of missing the filing deadline in the critical early New Hampshire primary.

The late start also hampered fund-raising activity. In contrast to the draft-Kennedy movement in 1979, which had raised money through direct mail for an exploratory committee effort well before Kennedy's formal entry, Jackson had done no serious fund-raising prior to his announcement. To qualify for federal matching funds, a presidential candidate must receive at least $5,000 in each of 20 states, with no more than $250 coming from any one individual. The papers requesting matching funds were not filed with the Federal Election Commission until January 13, 1984.

Cash flow was a major problem. Had an exploratory draft-Jackson committee tested a direct-mail list prior to his announcement, a proven list could have been tapped to raise the money necessary to qualify for matching funds immediately after his announcement, and the funds could have been received by January 1, 1984. Such a list also might have yielded an impressive list of grass-roots organizers and fund-raisers.

The black population generally is a difficult one from which to raise campaign funds. The Jackson campaign targeted congressional districts that are 20 percent or more black (the same target list as for voters) as its chief fund-raising areas. As can be seen from Table 3, the median black income level in most of these districts is quite low. The lack of disposable income among such families limits the potential for fund-raising, although a few areas (such as suburban Los Angeles, South Side Chicago, Gary, Queens, Detroit, and Washington and its suburbs) stand out as having significant potential nonetheless. As of April 30, Jackson had raised $ 3.4 million, according to the Federal Election Commission (Table 7).

The black church was an important element in the Jackson campaign. Blacks ministers frequently emerged as the chairmen of local Jackson organizations. Virtually everywhere, black ministers solicited both financial and organizational support from their congregations, often through the simple expedient of "passing the plate" during a service. The national Jackson for President Campaign Committee even sent a memorandum to thousands of black ministers in March detailing how they could raise funds for the candidate without violating federal election law. The first Sunday in April was set aside as "A Jackson for Jackson Day," a plea for individual $20 contributions in black churches across the nation.

Television debate parties, concerts, and rallies also were used to raise a money for the campaign. Jackson himself frequently ended his campaign appearances with a personal appeal for contributions. It is important to note that cash contributions are not eligible to be matched with federal funds; to qualify for matching, a contribution must be in the form of a check or money order accompanied by the contributor's name and address. Thus, his disproportionate reliance on cash placed Jackson at a disadvantage compared to the other candidates.

Jackson's pattern of campaign spending was also quite unusual. Travel was the campaign's largest reported expenditure item The second largest was a sizable amount of money set aside for state committees. The use of these funds has not been adequately documented, and the Federal Election Commission has charged that this is a violation of federal election law. Advertising is ordinarily the largest single expenditure in a presidential campaign: it is not uncommon for half of the total budget to be used for television ads alone. Yet the Jackson campaign had earmarked less than $10,000 for advertising through the end of February. No money whatever was spent on television until the June 5 California primary, and very little was spent on radio. Nor did the campaign spend any money on fund-raising until January 1984.

The lack of a paid media campaign left Jackson at the mercy of the news coverage in the "free media" to get his message across. While he has been successful at generating visibility and coverage, he has had no control over the content of this coverage, which restrained his ability to craft a public image through the use of broadcast advertising.

The disarray of the campaign was fully manifest in the scheduling operation. The candidate's calendar of appearances often changed from day to day or even hour to hour on the whim of the candidate, and the press corps frequently had inadequate time to file stories or even make travel arrangements. The difficulties of life aboard the "Rainbow Express" (the campaign plane) were occasionally reflected in a grumpy tone of coverage, but more importantly, they detracted from the campaign's ability to generate full coverage, which is especially important to a campaign that is underfinanced and therefore highly dependent on "free media."

Another problem was that the campaign scheduling was not always in line with the strategic priorities of the campaign. For example, during the week before Super

Tuesday, one might have expected the campaign to be devoting all its time to Alabama, Florida, and Georgia. Yet the candidate also undertook appearances in Massachusetts, Michigan, Illinois, Arkansas, and Kentucky, which diverted precious resources of time and travel money. This curious scheduling may have been partially responsible for Jackson's lower showing among blacks on Super Tuesday than during later stages of the campaign.

Implications for the Future

Several recent analyses of the Jackson campaign (including cover stories in Time and The New Republic) have concentrated on its potential for divisiveness. Two groups in particular have shown some signs of a reaction against the Jackson campaign: Jews and southern whites. Jewish concerns about Jackson's sympathy for the Palestinian cause have been exacerbated by comments from Jackson that many Jews consider anti-Semitic. Although blacks and Jews have been allies in the civil rights movement for years, some basic conflicts of interest and perception on specific issues such as quotas have led to tensions in black-Jewish political relations over the past few years.

In the South, Jackson has received only a tiny share of white votes. While black turnout has been increasing in most of the Southern primaries, white turnout has been much less impressive. In Louisiana, Governor Edwin Edwards's call for a boycott of the presidential primary clearly held down white turnout. In the rest of the South, the mediocre white turnout may reflect a lack of interest in any of the three major Democratic contenders; or perhaps many Southern white Democrats have already decided to vote for Reagan. More ominously for blacks, it may signal disenchantment with the more visible role of blacks in both state and national Democratic party politics, and a resultant drift to the Republicans. But Republican benefits from racial backlash are likely to be tempered by the party's "country club" image. Many blue-collar southern whites turned out to vote for "populist" Democratic candidates in the 1982 midterm elections, especially in states like Alabama and the Carolinas, where layoffs in the steel, furniture, and textile industries heightened class distinctions between the two parties.

One state where race has become a more or less explicit issue is North Carolina. Senator Jesse Helms' opposition to the Martin Luther King holiday bill has become a major line of attack against Democratic opponent James Hunt. Controversies over Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher and the current turbulence of Chicago politics contributed to black Congresswoman Katie Hall's loss in her renomination bid in Indiana's 1st congressional district. It remains to be seen whether a pattern of white racial appeals will appear in campaigns at the state and local level in response to Jackson's campaign and the publicity over increasing black participation.

Such controversies should not obscure the very real accomplishments of the Jackson campaign. It has succeeded in many of its major objectives. Black registration and turnout are increasing; a largely black Jackson delegate contingent of nearly 400 was elected; networks of black activists were formed at the local level; and breakthroughs have already been achieved in raising such issues as South Africa and the runoff primary to a higher level of significance. The Jackson campaign has proven to be an efficacious vehicle to hasten the process of black political empowerment.

Above all, both black and white Americans have become accustomed to the concept and the reality of a black candidate competing for the presidency in a serious nationwide campaign. Thus, the Jackson candidacy has provided a source of inspiration that may someday carry a black into the White House. Long after the controversies of this year are forgotten, the legacy of Jesse Jackson as a political pioneer will live on.

Tables

Table 1. Southern voter registration, 1980-84.

	White Registration			Black Registration		
State	1980	1984	Change	1980	1984	Change
Alabama	1,700,000	1,664,000	-36,000	350,000	482,000	+132,000
Arkansas	1,056,000	964,000	-92,000	130,000	155,000	+25,000
Florida	4,331,000	4,337,000	+6,000	489,000	517,000	+28,000
Georgia	1,800,000	1,787,000	-13,000	450,000	512,000	+62,000
Louisiana	1,550,000	1,609,000	+59,000	465,000	535,000	+70,000
Mississippi	1,152,000	1,144,000	-8,000	330,000	406,000	+76,000
No. Carolina	2,314,000	2,369,000	+55,000	440,000	565,000	+125,000
So. Carolina	916,000	848,000	-68,000	320,000	331,000	+11,000
Tennessee	2,200,000	2,082,000	-118,000	300,000	348,000	+48,000
Texas	6,020,000	6,042,000	+22,000	620,000	720,000	+100,000
Virginia	1,942,000	1,908,000	-34,000	360,000	378,000	+18,000
Total	24,981,000	24,754,000	-227,000	4,254,000	4,949,000	+695,000

Source: Data from American Political Report, May 18, 1984. Some data from the Voter Education Project.

Table 2. Turnout changes, 1980-1984, and 1984 first-time voters in Democratic presidential primaries.

State	Turnout change, 1980-84		First-time voters		
	Black areas	State total	Black	White	Total
Alabama	+87%	+71%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Florida	+38	+ 7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Georgia	+14	-34	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Illinois	+19	+37	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
New York	+127	+37	9%	1%	4%
Pennsylvania	+32	- 2	5	3	3
Tennessee	+58	+ 7	4	4	4
Indiana	+29	+17	4	5	5
Maryland	+33	+ 1	11	4	6
North Carolina	+53	+18	11	6	8
Ohio	+36	+21	5	4	4
New Jersey	+82	+19	7	2	3
California	n.a.	n.a.	11	3	5

Source: CBS News.

Note: "Black areas" are precincts in which blacks comprise 80 percent or more of the population. "First-time voters" refers to percentage of the CBS/New York Times exit poll respondents who said they were voting for the first time in the presidential primaries.

n.a. not available.

Table 3. Congressional districts in which blacks comprise 20 percent or more of the voting-age population.

State/District	Location	Black voting-age percentage	Hispanic voting-age percentage	District-level		Black median family income in 1979 (dollars)
				Delegates	Alternates	
Alabama						
1	Mobile	27.7	1.0	5	2	9,879
2	Montgomery	27.4	1.0	5	2	9,424
3	Anniston	25.2	0.9	5	2	10,006
6	Birmingham	31.5	0.6	5	2	11,468
7	Tuscaloosa	29.7	0.9	5	2	8,803
Arkansas						
4	Pine Bluff	24.6	0.7	7	2	8,832
California						
8	Oakland-Berkeley	24.1	5.7	6	2	12,759
28	Los Angeles-Inglewood	41.9	26.0	8	2	15,448
29	Los Angeles-Downey	45.7	28.2	8	2	10,580
31	Compton-Carson	31.0	21.7	7	2	17,145
District of Columbia[a]						
1	Wards 1,2,6,8	65.3	3.6	5	1	n.a.
2	Wards 3,4,5,7	66.2	2.0	6	2	n.a.

Florida						
2	Tallahassee	21.9	1.2	5	2	9,015
3	Jacksonville	24.6	1.7	5	1	10,513
17	Miami (North)	21.9	24.2	5	2	14,217
Georgia						
1	Savannah	30.1	1.1	4	1	9,523
2	Albany	32.3	0.9	5	1	9,171
3	Columbus	31.4	1.5	5	2	10,307
5	Atlanta	60.1	1.1	5	2	11,658
8	Macon	31.7	0.8	6	2	10,225
10	Augusta	22.9	1.3	4	1	10,741
Illinois						
1	Chicago (South Side)	90.2	1.0	9	3	13,194
2	Chicago (Lake Calumet)	66.4	6.6	8	3	17,772
7	Chicago (West Side)	59.8	4.4	7	2	11,258
Indiana						
1	Gary	21.9	7.0	6	2	17,816
10	Indianapolis	24.8	0.9	6	2	14,679

Table 3 (Continued)

State/District	Location	Black voting-age percentage	Hispanic voting-age percentage	District-level Delegates	District-level Alternates	Black median family income in 1979 (dollars)
Louisiana						
2	New Orleans	n.a	n.a	4	1	n.a
4	Shreveport	28.7	1.9	5	1	10,265
5	Monroe	27.9	0.9	5	1	7,715
6	Baton Rouge	22.6	1.5	5	2	10,972
8	Alexandria	35.7	1.5	5	2	9,805
Maryland						
5	Prince George's County	31.3	2.2	5	2	22,614
7	Baltimore (West)	69.6	0.8	6	2	13,094
Michigan						
1	Detroit-Highland Park	66.1	1.8	8	3	18,317
13	Detroit (Central)	67.5	2.7	7	2	10,841

Mississippi						
1	Tupelo	22.6	0.7	5	2	9,532
2	Mississippi Delta	54.0	1.0	5	2	7,447
3	Meridian	27.5	0.8	5	1	9,121
4	Jackson	40.6	0.8	5	2	9,861
Missouri						
1	St. Louis (North)	46.1	0.8	6	2	13,316
5	Kansas City	19.8	2.4	6	2	14,671
New Jersey[b]						
New York						
6	Queens (Jamaica)	46.7	8.3	6	2	18,378
11	Brooklyn (Bedford-Stuyvesant)	46.6	34.1	5	2	9,730
12	Brooklyn (Crown Heights)	78.2	9.4	5	2	12,218
16	Manhattan (Harlem)	49.2	34.7	6	2	10,225
18	Bronx (South)	44.4	48.5	5	2	9,012

Table 3 (Continued)

State/District	Location	Black voting-age percentage	Hispanic voting-age percentage	District-level		Black median family income in 1979 (dollars)
				Delegates	Alternates	
North Carolina						
1	Cape Hatteras	31.9	0.9	5	2	10,000
2	Durham	36.5	0.8	5	2	10,768
3	Goldsboro	25.2	1.5	4	1	10,017
7	Fayetteville	25.4	2.2	4	1	10,088
9	Charlotte	20.8	0.8	5	2	12,543
Ohio						
21	Cleveland (East)	58.2	0.9	7	2	14,822
Pennsylvania						
1	Philadelphia (South)	28.8	7.4	9	3	9,435
2	Philadelphia (West)	75.7	1.1	9	3	12,399
South Carolina						
1	Charleston	29.4	1.6	4	1	10,508
2	Columbia	31.9	1.2	5	2	11,384
3	Anderson	20.1	0.7	5	1	11,777
5	Rock Hill	29.4	0.8	5	2	11,430
6	Florence	36.7	1.0	5	2	10,248

Tennessee						
5	Nashville	19.8	0.7	6	2	12,712
9	Memphis	50.6	0.7	7	2	10,322
Texas[c]						
13	Harris County	48.6	9.7	5	2	n.a.
15	Harris County	23.6	30.1	4	1	n.a.
23	Dallas County	46.6	13.3	4	1	n.a.
Virginia						
1	Newport News	29.2	1.2	5	2	12,433
2	Norfolk	21.0	2.0	4	1	11,035
3	Richmond	26.5	0.8	5	2	14,335
4	Portsmouth	37.3	1.0	5	2	12,507
5	Danville	22.4	0.7	5	1	12,165
Wisconsin						
5	Milwaukee (North Side)	22.3	1.7	7	2	12,551

Source: Data from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Congressional Data Profiles: 98th Congress (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1983).

n.a. - not available

[a] The District of Columbia has two "delegate districts," although it has no congressional districts.

[b] In New Jersey, delegates are allocated by specially designated "delegate districts," for which data were not available at press time.

[c] In Texas, delegates are allocated by state senatorial districts.

Table 4. 1984 Democratic presidential primary voting by race.

			Blacks					Whites			
State	Date	Black percentage of sample	Glenn	Hart	Jackson	Mondale	White percentage of sample	Glenn	Hart	Jackson	Mondale
Alabama	3/13	40%	1%	1%	50%	47%	56%	32%	37%	1%	29%
Georgia	3/13	28	1	5	61	30	69	25	38	1	32
Illinois	3/20	25	-	4	79	17	69	-	45	4	47
New York	4/3	23	-	3	87	8	70	-	36	6	57
Pennsylvania	4/10	16	-	3	77	18	82	-	43	4	50
Tennessee	5/1	26	-	2	76	22	71	-	43	2	51
Texas*	5/5	33	-	1	83	16	56	-	37	4	50
Indiana	5/8	14	-	9	71	20	85	-	51	3	44
Maryland	5/8	24	-	2	83	13	73	-	35	5	53
No. Carolina	5/8	27	-	1	84	13	69	-	41	3	46
Ohio	5/8	19	-	3	81	15	79	-	50	5	44
California	6/5		-	5	78	16		-	48	9	40
New Jersey	6/5		-	2	86	11		-	38	4	56

Source: CBS/*New York Times* exit surveys.

*Sample of caucus participants

Table 5. Black 1984 Democratic presidential primary voting by age.

State	Date	Blacks under age 50	Blacks age 50 and over
Alabama	3/13		
Hart		4%	3%
Jackson		67	45
Mondale		26	51
Florida	3/13		
Hart		7	4
Jackson		67	51
Mondale		26	43
Georgia	3/13		
Hart		4	5
Jackson		74	68
Mondale		21	26
Illinois	3/20		
Hart		9	7
Jackson		74	76
Mondale		15	16
New York	4/3		
Hart		2	2
Jackson		93	81
Mondale		5	17
Pennsylvania	4/10		
Hart		7	12
Jackson		77	65
Mondale		16	23

Source: NBC News exit surveys.

Table 6. Black voting in Alabama and Georgia primaries.

	Alabama		Georgia	
	Jackson	Mondale	Jackson	Mondale
TOTAL SAMPLE	50%	47%	61%	30%
Age				
18-29 years old	59	36	64	31
30-44	68	30	64	25
45-59	41	55	65	33
60 and older	34	64	58	32
Sex				
Men	52	43	58	30
Women	50	49	64	30
Family income				
under $12,500	53	46	63	33
$12,500 to $25,000	37	60	65	26
Over $25,000	64	31	58	30
Political leaning				
Liberal	55	43	69	27
Moderate	46	52	57	32
Conservative	55	41	63	30

Source: CBS/New York Times exit survey data published in the New York Times, March 15, 1984.

Table 7. Jesse Jackson for President Campaign Committee disbursements, October 1, 1983-April 30, 1984.

Disbursements	October-December	January	February	March	April	Total
Telephone	$28,591.28	$ 15,776.13	$ 20,098.76	$ 87,771.46	$ 62,747.95	$ 214,985.58
Payroll	46,245.15	39,720.23	41,598.92	37,603.44	66,949.72	232,117.46
Travel	55,887.93	129,618.33	171,194.50	235,752.60	277,136.51	869,589.87
Contracted services	23,621.83	36,938.65	49,207.48	76,505.79	108,308.15	294,581.90
Political events	-0-	7,815.22	7,858.91	1,020.16	3,111.22	19,805.51
Media	-0-	327.00	6,060.96	40,912.96	111,900.80	159,201.72
Fundraising	-0-	4,903.00	7,092.32	16,531.58	334,520.00	363,046.90
Committee transfers	-0-	-0-	309,691.88	356,012.05	159,180.95	824,884.88
Administrative	13,608.98	48,773.59	27,450.45	39,642.82	31,463.10	160,938.94
Office rental	11,423.29	98,603.60	19,157.89	5,077.99	3,442.60	137,705.37
Miscellaneous	3,706.67	43,371.48	55,255.27	10,317.73	9,183.75	121,834.90
Total	$183,085.13	$425,847.23	$714,667.34	$907,148.58	$1,167,944.75	$3,398,693.03

Source: Data from Federal Election Commission.

SELECTED JCPS PUBLICATIONS

Black Americans and the Shaping of U.S. Foreign Policy: Proceedings of a JCPS Roundtable, 1981. ISBN 0-941410-18-8. $4.95

Black Elected Officials and their Constituencies, Thomas E. Cavanagh and Denise Stockton, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-28-5. $4.95.

Black Employment in City Government, 1973-1980, Peter Eisinger, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-32-3. $4.95.

Black Politics 1980, JCPS Office of Research, 1980. ISBN 0-941410-10-2.
  --*A Guide to the Democratic National Convention*. ISBN 0-941410-11-0. $4.95.
  --*A Guide to the Republican National Convention*. ISBN 0-941410-12-9. $4.95.

Blacks on the Move: A Decade of Demographic Change, William P. O'Hare, Jane-yu Li, Roy Chatterjee, and Margaret Shukur, abridged by Phillip Sawicki, 1982. ISBN 0-941410-25-0. $4.95.

The Changing Patterns of Black Family Income, 1960-1982, Henry E. Felder, 1984. ISBN 0-941410-43-9. $4.95.

Energy and Equity: Some Social Concerns, edited by Ellis Cose, 1979. ISBN 0-941410-09-9. $8.50.

Focus, JCPS monthly newsletter. ISSN 0740-0195. $12.00 per annum.

Foreign Trade Policy and Black Economic Advancement: Proceedings of a JCPS Roundtable, 1981. ISBN 0-941410-19-6. $4.95.

How to Use Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, third edition, Barbara Y. Phillips, 1984. ISBN 0-941410-27-7. $4.95.

The Impact of the Black Electorate (Election '84 Report No. 1), Thomas E. Cavanagh, 1984. ISBN 0-941410-44-7. $4.95.

The JCPS Congressional District Fact Book, edited by Thomas E. Cavanagh, 1984. ISBN 0-941410-34-X. $5.95.

Mobilizing the Black Community: The Effects of Personal Contact Campaigning on Black Voters, Paul Carton, 1984. ISBN 0-941410-45-5.

National Roster of Black Elected Officials, volume 12, 1982. ISSN 0092-2935. $23.00.

The Nineteen Eighties: Prologue and Prospect, Kenneth B. Clark and John Hope Franklin, 1981. ISBN 0-941410-20-X. $2.95.

Picking a President: A Guide to Delegate Selection in the States, JCPS Office of Research, 1980. ISBN 0-941410-15-3. $4.95.

A Policy Framework for Racial Justice, (statement by thirty black scholars), 1983. Introduction by Kenneth B. Clark and John Hope Franklin. ISBN 0-941410-30-7. $4.95.

Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980, Gary Orfield, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-29-3. $4.95.

Race and Political Strategy, edited by Thomas E. Cavanagh, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-33-1. $4.95.

Vote Dilution, Minority Voting Rights, and the Courts, Stephen L. Wasby, 1982. ISBN 0-941410-22-6. $4.95.

The Voting Rights Act and Black Electoral Participation, Kenneth H. Thompson, 1982. ISBN 0-941410-24-2. $4.95.

Wealth and Economic Status: A Perspective on Racial Inequity, by William P. O'Hare, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-35-8. $4.95.

The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the political process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs.

Joint Center for Political Studies, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20004, 202 626-3500

11.3

Election '84
Report #3

Blacks and the 1984 Democratic National Convention: A Guide

Joint Center for Political Studies Washington, D.C. 1984

The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publications, and conferences.

Opinions expressed in Joint Center publications are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the other staff, officers, or governors of the Joint Center or of the organizations supporting the center and its research.

ISBN 0-941410-46-3

Copyright ©1984, Joint Center for Political Studies, Inc.
All Rights Reserved
Printed in the United States of America

1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004

Contents

Foreword v

1. Introduction: Blacks and the Democratic Party in 1984 1

2. General Fact Sheet 4

3. Hotel Assignments of State Delegations 5

4. Convention Calendar 7

5. Black Members of the Democratic National Committee 9

6. Black Members of Standing Committees of the Democratic National Committee 11

7. Highlights of the 1984 Democratic Platform 15

8. Roster of Black Delegates and Alternates 21

9. The Black Vote in Perspective: Background Tables

    1. Black Delegates at Democratic National Conventions, 1932-1984 68

    2. Black Delegate Representation, by State, 1972-1984 70

    3. Black Voter Registration, 1982 71

    4. Top 20 Cities Ranked by Black Voting-Age Population, 1980 72

    5. Voter Turnout by Race and Region, 1964-1982 73

    6. Black Voter Registration and Turnout by Age and Sex, 1980 74

FOREWORD

The Joint Center for Political Studies congratulates each of the 697 black delegates and 225 alternates to the 1984 Democratic National Convention. As 17.7 percent of the delegates and 17.0 percent of the alternates, blacks are a larger proportion of this convention than of any since 1932 and perhaps any in the party's history. This unprecedented level of involvement is just one manifestation of a recent surge in black political participation and of the continuing importance of black support for the Democratic party.

From a black perspective, the 1984 race for the Democratic party's nomination has been historic. Blacks have been more actively involved in this race than in any on record, as their representation at the convention indicates. A black candidate waged a formidable national campaign, winning nearly 20 percent of the Democratic primary votes and more than 350 committed delegates. Such extensive black involvement in the nomination process and the rapidly growing strength of blacks in the electorate give them an especially good opportunity to help shape the party's platform and influence the outcome of the election in November.

As it has since 1972, the Joint Center offers to assist delegates and alternates during the convention to facilitate their effective participation. This guidebook and roster of black delegates and alternates is one effort to help. Similar volumes have been prepared for both Democratic and Republican conventions since 1972. This volume is also the third in a series of JCPS Election 84 Reports. We hope the information it provides will prove helpful at the convention and afterward.

Blacks and the 1984 Democratic National Convention: A Guide was prepared under the supervision of Milton D. Morris, director of research, by the following members of the JCPS staff: Thomas Cavanagh, research associate; Devonda Byers, research assistant; Glenn Ivey, summer intern; and Jonathan House, office assistant. Deborah Rivers, Panola Golson, Joyce Jackson, and Naima Washington were responsible for typing the manuscript. Catherine Iino, director of publications, and Constance Toliver, editorial assistant, oversaw production.

We are grateful to Amelia Parker, director of the Office of Black Affairs of the Democratic National Committee. We also are indebted to the Aetna Life & Casualty Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Westinghouse Electric Corporation for their financial support of this research effort.

Eddie N. Williams
President
July 1984

1. INTRODUCTION:
BLACKS AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN 1984

As the delegates and alternates to the Democratic National Convention assemble in San Francisco, the increasingly visible role of blacks in the Democratic Party is one of the focal points of political strategy and commentary. Not since the 1960s has the black electorate been mobilized as effectively as in the past two years. The widespread interest in black voter registration, the defeats of several conservative Republican officeholders by the heavy turnout of black voters in 1982, the elections of Chicago Mayor Harold Washington and Philadelphia Mayor Wilson Goode, and the presidential candidacy of Jesse Jackson have combined to make the black vote a vitally important factor in the 1984 campaign.

The Importance of the Black Vote

Blacks have been a bulwark of the Democratic coalition throughout the postwar period. Indeed, blacks are the most Democratic voting bloc in the electorate, usually giving 85 percent or more of their votes to Democratic presidential candidates. In the last four presidential elections, blacks have contributed between 19 and 22 percent of the votes cast nationwide for the Democratic presidential candidate. The opposition of much of the black community to the economic, civil rights, and foreign policies of the Reagan administration has only aggravated the Republicans' recent problems in attracting black support.

It is now well established that the 1980s are witnessing a major rise in black voter registration and turnout. Grass-roots mobilization efforts added almost 600,000 blacks to the nation's voter registration rolls between 1980 and 1982, and as many as 2 million more blacks may register by November 1984. Black voter turnout surged by 5.8 percent in the 1982 congressional elections over the 1978 level, helping to swell the ranks of black elected officials by 8.6 percent--from 5,160 to 5,606--between 1982 and 1983. This was the biggest one-year increase since 1976, and it suggests that the registration efforts under way this year may pay significant dividends in the form of additional black state legislators, mayors, and city council members--officeholders who could go on to even more prominent positions in the future.

The black registration gains have focused attention on the pivotal position of the black electorate. As of November 1982, there were 17.8 million blacks of voting age in the United States. This represents 10.5 percent of the total voting-age population. Just over half (52.9 percent) of the black voting-age population resides in the South, while most of the remainder is concentrated in inner-city areas of the northern industrial states. Given the Republican dominance in the western states, these are precisely the states likely to be most closely contested in the 1984 presidential election. Moreover, the Republicans have won a majority of the white vote in every presidential election since 1968. In sum, a Democratic presidential victory in 1984 is inconceivable without a high black turnout and a large Democratic share of the black vote in the Northern cities and the South.

There were 11 states--with a total of 134 electoral votes--in which the number of unregistered potential black voters exceeded President Reagan's 1980 margin of victory. In several of these states, a small increase in black voter registration could be sufficient to shift the state from the Republican to the Democratic column in the Electoral College. For example, there were close to 1 million unregistered blacks in New York alone, where Reagan won in 1980 by only 165,469 votes. North Carolina, which had the nation's lowest black registration rate (43.6 percent) in 1980, was carried by Reagan by only 39,383 votes, and this year will also be the scene of a closely fought Senate race between Republican incumbent Jesse Helms and Democratic Governor James Hunt. The black vote may have a bearing on the electoral fates of Republican Senators Thad Cochran of Mississippi and Charles Percy in Illinois, as well as on the outcome of contests for open Senate seats in Tennessee and Texas. Thus, Republican control of the Senate could also hinge on the success of black voter mobilization in 1984.

Because the black vote is so crucial to Democratic prospects this year, black leaders have been eager to play a more influential role in Democratic party affairs. For many years, blacks have complained that "one party writes us off, while the other party takes us for granted." Many blacks have been dissatisfied with the ineffectual opposition mounted by congressional Democrats to some of the Reagan administration's policy initiatives. These factors led Jesse Jackson to call on blacks to "renegotiate their compact with the Democratic party."

The most significant vehicle for increasing black clout within the party has been Jackson's own campaign. Jackson's total of 384 delegates at press time makes him by far the most successful black presidential candidate in the nation's history. (The only significant previous black presidential campaign, that of Shirley Chisholm in 1972, garnered 152 delegate votes.) According to Congressional Quarterly, he won about 18.3 percent of all the votes cast in the Democratic primaries, and swept the black vote by landslide showings of 75 percent or more in virtually all of the primaries and caucuses from March 20 on.

In part because of the Jackson campaign's achievements, the black delegate contingent at this year's convention will total 697, an all-time record. The black delegates represent 17.7 percent of the total convention delegates. In addition to Jackson's 305 black delegates, there are 208 supporting Mondale, 70 for Hart, 29 for Harold Washington, 1 for George McGovern, and another 84 who are uncommitted. In contrast to previous years, which have seen contentious credential challenges based on underrepresentation of blacks and women, there were no minority reports on credentials filed this year.

Reforming the Rules for 1988

Another tangible result of the Jackson campaign, working in concert with the Hart campaign, is the report of the Rules Committee. The report calls for the establishment of a "fairness commission" to study the rules governing the 1988 delegate selection process. The commission proposal was a response to criticism by both Jackson and Hart that the 1984 rules unfairly advantaged a mainstream front-runner like Mondale at the expense of "outsider" candidates.

Under the terms of the Rules Committee report, "the Commission to review the party's delegate selection process shall be guided by the provisions of this resolution. . . . The recommendations would be improvements over the present delegate selection process, and as such, the direction of those recommendations should not be reversed." The original draft read that the Rules Committee's recommendations "shall not be reversed," which would have made them binding on the reform commission. The language was amended at the insistence of the Jackson forces, which did not want to see the Rules Committee guidelines made binding because of the possibility that even broader changes might be approved by the "fairness commission." Thus, the Rules Committee guidelines have the status of a nonbinding directive to the reform commission.

The directive consists of two parts. The first set of recommendations was drafted by the Hart campaign, and includes the following provisions:
1. Reducing the threshold (or minimum precentage of the vote required for delegate representation) from 20 to 15 percent both within congressional districts and at the at-large level;
2. Reducing the number of unpledged party and elected official delegates by more than half, and prohibiting their selection until April of the primary season;
3. Mandating that all states in the first half of the primary schedule allocate their delegates on the basis of the proportion of the vote the candidates receive, and prohibiting both winner-take-all by congressional district and "bonus delegate" plans (which award an extra delegate to the winner of each congressional district);
4. Requiring that filing deadlines for delegate slates be no more than 30 days in advance of a primary or caucus; and
5. Prohibiting caucus rules that discourage participation, such as the two-stage primary and caucus

The second set of recommendations was drafted by the Jackson campaign, and mandates that the reform commission study the following proposed changes:

1. Abolishing the caucus system altogether, in effect requiring the use of primaries in all states and territories;
2. Eliminating the category of unpledged party and elected official delegates;
3. Establishing a system of complete proportionality in translating vote totals into delegate totals, in effect abolishing bonus delegate and winner-take-all plans; and
4. Requiring "assured percentages" of delegates for women, minorities, and other disadvantaged groups.

There are no minority reports to the Rules Committee report. Assuming that the full convention passes the Rules Committee report, the Democratic National Committee will establish a new reform commission after the 1984 election. The commission will probably hold its deliberations in 1985 and 1986, and the Democratic National Committee will probably vote on its recommendations for 1988 delegate selection rules in early 1987. Black political activists should pay close attention to the work of the reform commission over the next two years.

2. GENERAL FACT SHEET

CONVENTION SITE:

Moscone Center
Howard & 3rd Sts.
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 974-4000

DNC HEADQUARTERS

San Francisco Hilton and Tower
333 O'Farrell St.
San Francisco, CA 94102
(415) 771-1400

DATES:

July 16, 1984 through July 19, 1984

CANDIDATE HEADQUARTERS:

Mondale Campaign:

Meridian Hotel
53rd St.
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 974-6400

Hart Campaign:

Westin St. Francis
Union Square
San Francisco, CA 94119
(415) 397-7000

Jackson Campaign:

Hyatt (Union Square)
345 Stockton Street
San Francisco, CA 94108
(415) 398-1234

NUMBER OF DELEGATES

3,933 delegates and 1,313 alternates

NUMBER OF VOTES REQUIRED FOR NOMINATION

A simple majority of one more than half (1,967)

HOW DELEGATES ARE CHOSEN

In primary elections; by party caucuses and conventions; or by a combination of the two. Party rules require that as nearly as possible each state's delegation be divided equally between men and women and that minorities, youth, and the elderly be equitably represented.

3. HOTEL ASSIGNMENTS OF STATE DELEGATIONS

STATE	HOTEL
Alabama	Sir Francis Drake 450 Powell St. at Sutter
American Samoa	Stewart Hotel 351 Geary St.
Alaska	San Franciscan 1231 Market St. at Civic Center
Arizona	Ramada Inn (Fisherman's Wharf) 590 Bay St. at Jones
Arkansas	The Bedford Hotel 761 Post St.
Calif.	Westin St. Francis Hotel Union Square
Colorado	Holiday Inn (Convention Center) 50 Eighth St.
Conn.	TraveLodge (Fisherman's Wharf) 250 Beach St.
Delaware	Westin Miyako 1625 Post St.
D.C.	California Hotel 405 Taylor & O'Farrell St.
Florida	Cathedral Hill 1101 Van Ness Ave.
Georgia	Four Seasons Hotel 495 Geary St. at Taylor
Guam	Sir Francis Drake Hotel 450 Powell St. at Sutter
Hawaii	Bellevue Hotel 505 Geary St. & Taylor
Idaho	Stewart Hotel 351 Geary St.
Illinois	Hyatt Regency (Oakland) 455 Hegenberger Rd.
Indiana	Claremont Resort (Oakland) Domingo at Ashby Ave.
Iowa	San Franciscan 1231 Market St. at Civic Center
Kansas	Hyatt on Union Square 345 Stockton St.
Kentucky	San Franciscan 1231 Market St. at Civic Center
Latin America	Holiday Inn (Convention Center) 50 Eighth St.
Louisiana	Bellevue Hotel 505 Geary St. & Taylor
Maine	Carleton 1075 Sutter St.
Maryland	Marriott (Fisherman's Wharf) 1280 Columbus Ave.
Mass.	Holiday Inn (Financial District) 750 Kearny St.
Michigan	Meridian Hotel 53rd St.
Minnesota	Holiday Inn (Financial District) 750 Kearny St.
Miss.	Mark Twain Hotel 345 Taylor St.
Missouri	Sir Francis Drake Hotel 450 Powell St. at Sutter
Montana	Cathedral Hill 1101 Van Ness Ave.
Nebraska	Quality Inn Hotel 2775 Van Ness Ave.

STATE	HOTEL
Nevada	Kyoto Inn Sutter and Buchanan Sts.
N.H.	Sir Francis Drake Hotel 450 Powell St. at Sutter
N.J.	Holiday Inn (Fisherman's Wharf) 1300 Columbus Ave.
N. Mex.	Holiday Inn (Fisherman's Wharf) 1300 Columbus Ave.
New York	Hyatt Regency 5 Embarcadero Center
N.C.	Holiday Inn (Union Square) 480 Sutter St. at Powell
N. Dakota	Holiday Inn (Convention Center) 50 Eighth St.
Ohio	Hyatt on Union Square 345 Stockton St.
Oklahoma	Vagabond 2550 Van Ness Avenue
Oregon	Canterbury Hotel 750 Sutter St.
Pa.	Sheraton Palace 639 Market St.
Puerto Rico	Westin Miyako 1625 Post St.
R.I.	Grosvenor Inn (Convention Center) 1050 Van Ness Ave.
S.C.	Holiday Inn (Golden Gateway) 1500 Van Ness Ave.
S. Dakota	Ramada Inn (Fisherman's Wharf) 590 Bay St. at Jones
Tennessee	Holiday Inn (Union Square) 480 Sutter St. at Powell

STATE	HOTEL
Texas	Sheraton (Fisherman's Wharf) 2500 Mason St.
Utah	Hotel Union Square 114 Powell St.
Vermont	San Franciscan 1231 Market St. at Civic Center
Virgin Islands	Manx Hotel 225 Powell St. at Union Square
Virginia	California Hotel 405 Taylor & O'Farrell Sts.
Wash.	Pickwick 85 Fifth St.
W.Va.	Pacific Plaza 501 Post & Mason Sts.
Wisconsin	Hyatt Regency 5 Embarcadero Center
Wyoming	Sheraton Palace 639 Market St.
Democrats Abroad	Holiday Inn (Fisherman's Wharf) 1300 Columbus Ave.

4. CONVENTION CALENDAR

The Democratic National Convention will officially open on Monday, July 16, 1984, at 3:00 p.m. and will continue through Thursday evening, July 19, when nominees for Vice President and President deliver their acceptance speeches. Sessions of the convention will be held from 3:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. at the Moscone Center.

A variety of special events and caucuses are also planned during the convention--before and after the official sessions. Some of these, which may be of particular interest to you, are listed below. Others will be announced during the convention.

Monday, July 16

8:30 a.m.	DNC Black Caucus Press Conference Sheraton Palace - Regency Room
9:00 a.m.	Black Delegates' Breakfast Sheraton Palace - Ralston Room
3:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	1984 Democratic Convention Opening Session Opening Ceremonies Credentials Committee Report Rules Committee Report DNC Treasurer's Report DNC Finance Chair's Report Welcoming Remarks by San Francisco Mayor Diane Feinstein Chairman's Report Speech by Permanent Convention Chair, Kentucky Governor Martha Layne Collins Speech by Former President Jimmy Carter Keynote Address by New York Governor Mario Cuomo
8:00 p.m.	"Oh What a Night" Reception (by invitation) San Francisco Pier 45 Host: Speaker of the California State Assembly Willie Brown

Tuesday, July 17

11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Black Delegates Meeting, Issues Session (presidential candidates invited) Sheraton Palace - Grand Ballroom
3:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	1984 Democratic Convention Session Opening Ceremonies Thematic Film Presentation Report of the Platform Committee Speech by Jesse Jackson Speeches on Minority Reports Debate on Platform Committee Report Film

9:00 p.m. - 11:00 p.m.	Reception Sheraton Palace - Gold Room Host: D.C. Mayor Marion Barry
11:30 p.m.	Black Delegates' VIP Reception (by invitation) Sheraton Palace Hotel - Garden Court Host: Democratic National Committee

Wednesday, July 18

8:30 a.m.	Voter Registration Fund-Raising Breakfast Meridian Hotel
9:00 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Black and Hispanic Delegates' Breakfast (honoring black and Hispanic members of Congress) Sheraton Palace - Ralston Room
11:00 a.m. - 12 noon	Black Delegates' Meeting - Nomination Process Briefing Sheraton Palace - Ralston Room
3:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	1984 Democratic Convention Session Opening Ceremonies Speech by Senator Gary Hart Nominating Speeches for Presidential Candidates Roll Call for Presidential Nomination

Thursday, July 19

9:30 a.m. -11:00 a.m.	Brunch for Women of Color Ferry Plaza Restaurant
1:00 p.m.	Black Women Delegates' Caucus and Press Conference Sheraton Palace
3:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	1984 Democratic Convention Session Opening Ceremonies Nominating Speeches for Vice Presidential Candidates Roll Call for Vice Presidential Nomination Vice Presidential Acceptance Speech Presidential Acceptance Speech Adjournment
9:30 p.m. - 12:00 a.m.	Congressman Mickey Leland's Reception (by invitation) Ferry Boat Santa Rosa, Pier #3

Friday, July 20

10:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Democratic National Committee Meeting

5. BLACK MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The Democratic National Committee has 377 members, 49 of whom are black. There is a Black Caucus of the Democratic National Committee, headed by:

Mickey Leland	Chairperson
C. Deloris Tucker	Vice-Chairperson
Helen Marshall	Secretary
Roland Burris	Treasurer

ALABAMA

Louphenia Thomas
931 Arkadelphia Road
Birmingham, AL 35204
Home: (205) 328-7305

ARKANSAS

Lottie Shackelford
1300 W. Capitol
Little Rock, AR 72201
(501) 374-2361

CALIFORNIA

Willie Brown, Jr.
State Capitol
Sacramento, CA 95814
Office: (916) 445-8077

Caffie Greene
3958 Louise Street
Lynwood, CA 90262
Home: (213) 979-5193

Maxine Waters
7900 South Central Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90001
(213) 582-7371

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Barbara Clark
1616 Buchanan Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20017
Office: (301) 559-3956

Sharon P. Dixon
1900 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20068
Office: (202) 872-2023

Ted Gay
523 12th Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 546-2700

Annette C. Jones
5422 2nd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20011
(202) 723-8182

George Mickey Leland
419 Cannon House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3816

Addie Wyatt
1775 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 223-3111

FLORIDA

William "Boone" Darden
15137 No. 83rd Way
Lake Park, FL 33410
(305) 845-4128

ILLINOIS

Roland Burris
Comptroller of the State of Illinois
160 LaSalle Street
Chicago, IL 60601
(312) 793-2451

Gwen R. Martin
219 Hickory Avenue
Arlington Heights, IL 60004
(312) 956-6010

Earl L. Neal
111 West Washington, #2144
Chicago, IL 60602
(312) 641-7144

Yvonne Rice
2009 Randall Court
Springfield, IL 62703
(217) 492-4126

INDIANA

Julia M. Carson
2534 N. Park Avenue
Indianapolis, IN 46205
Home: (317) 926-7696

Richard G. Hatcher
(Vice Chair)
401 Broadway
Gary, IN 46402
Office: (219) 881-1301

LOUISIANA

Henry Braden, IV
612 Gravier Street
New Orleans, LA 70130
Office: (504) 581-3141

Ernest Morial
1300 Perdido Street
New Orleans, LA 70112
Office: (504) 586-4450

MARYLAND

Clarence Blount
3600 Hillsdale Road
Baltimore, MD 21207
Office: (301) 466-1197

MICHIGAN

Shirley R. Hall
19360 Renfrew
Detroit, MI 48221
Office: (313) 567-9000

Hubert Price, Jr.
46 North Edith
Pontiac, MI 48058
(313) 338-2060

Marc Stepp
8000 E. Jefferson Street
Detroit, MI 48214
Office: (313) 926-5481

Bea Williams
1940 W. Atherton Road
Flint, MI 48507
(313) 767-0910

Coleman Young
1126 City County Bldg.
Detroit, MI 48226
Office: (313) 224-6340

MISSOURI

Rosemary Lowe
3232 East 29th Street
Kansas City, MO 64128
(816) 921-0277

NEW JERSEY

Virginia L. Feggins
240 W. State Street
Suite 1525
Trenton, NJ 08608
(609) 392-3367

NEW YORK

George Brown
101 Bristol Drive
Woodbury, NY 11797
Home: (516) 575-1984

Hazel Dukes
300 Edwards Street
Roslyn Heights, NY 11577
Office: (212) 221-5283

Helen Marshall
433 State Capitol
Albany, NY 12224
Office: (518) 455-5378

Lucille Rose
212 MacDonough Street
Brooklyn, NY 11216
Office: (212) 574-7148

NORTH CAROLINA

Clarence Lightner
717 Delaney Drive
Raleigh, NC 27610
(919) 834-6397

OHIO

Phyllis Hart
1091 Ellsworth Avenue
Columbus, OH 43206
Office: (614) 466-1414

Morris Jackson
Ohio Senate, State House
Columbus, OH 43215
Office: (614)466-4857

C. L. McLin, Jr.
1130 Germantown Street
Dayton, OH 45408
Home (513) 222-7821

OKLAHOMA

Hannah D. Atkins
Route 4, Box 799
Oklahoma City, OK 73111
Office: (405) 771-3586

PENNSYLVANIA

K. Leroy Irvis
139 Main Capitol
Harrisburg, PA 17120
(717) 787-4610

Leon Lynch
5 Gateway Center
Pittsburgh, PA 15222
(412) 562-2307

Evelyn D. Richardson
6908 Kedron Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15208
(414) 363-3469

C. Delores Tucker
6700 Lincoln Drive
Philadelphia, PA 19119
(215) 842-1333

SOUTH CAROLINA

Beatrice Thompson
1111 Southwood
Anderson, SC 29621
(803) 224-2173

TENNESSEE

Inez Crutchfield
3507 Geneva Circle
Nashville, TN 37209
(615) 320-3298

TEXAS

Deralyn Davis
P.O. Box 15126
Fort Worth, TX 76619
(817) 921-2532

Jesse Jones
6139 Moonglow
Dallas, TX 75241
(214) 372-8768

VIRGINIA

Benjamin H. Lambert, III
904 First Street
Richmond, VA 23219
(804) 643-3534

Jessie Rattley
527 Ivy Avenue
Newport News, VA 23607
(804) 247-6771

WISCONSIN

Terrance Pitts
2011 W. Capital Drive
Milwaukee, WI 53206
Office: (414) 873-3160

DEMOCRATS ABROAD

Dean Ferrier
19 Avenue Ferdinand Buisson
75016 Paris, France
620/46-42

6. BLACK MEMBERS OF STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

There are three standing committees of the Democratic National Convention: the Credentials Committee, the Rules Committee, and the Platform Committee. Each has about 185 members.

Black Members of the Credentials Committee

Marilyn Anderson-Chase
47 Hutchings Street
Dorchester, MA 02121
preference: Mondale

Marvin Arrington
3074 Cascade Road, S.W.
Atlanta, GA 30311
preference: Hart

Johnny Barnes
2003A Ft. Davis Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20020
preference: Jackson

Rosemary Davis
5375 Five Fingers Way
Columbia, MD 21045
preference: Jackson

Sheila Davis
5112 W. Outer Drive
Detroit, MI 48235
preference: Hart

Wilhelmina Delco
State Representative
Box 2910
Austin, TX 78769
preference: unknown

Bill DeLoach
Office of the Governor
Box 11450
Columbia, SC 29211
preference: uncommitted

Paula Dorsey
3350 N. 12th Street
Milwaukee, WI 53206
preference: Mondale

Walter Fauntroy
Member of Congress
2135 Rayburn House Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20515
preference: unknown

Ted Gay
523 12th Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
preference: unknown

Judith Green
2140 Ohio Avenue
Cincinnati, OH 45219
preference: Mondale

Theopia Green
1468 Carroll Street
Brooklyn, NY 11213
preference: Jackson

Edward Harvey
428 Chambers Avenue
Camden, NJ 08103
preference: Mondale

Rosetta Hubbard
5941 Kensington Blvd.
New Orleans, LA 70127
preference: Jackson

Cynthia Jenkins
State Assembly Member
174-63 128 Avenue
Jamaica, NY 11434
preference: Hart

Daisy D. Johnson
Box 1568
Orangeburg, SC 29117
preference: Jackson

Perry Johnson
16569 Muirland
Detroit, MI 48221
preference: Mondale

Birta T. Jones
1816 Spurce Street
Greenville, MS 38701
preference: Mondale

Michael Lomax
165 Central, Ste. 208
Atlanta, GA 30303
preference: unknown

Willie Lovett
835 Jerome Rd.
Durham, NC 27713
preference: Jackson

H. Carl McCall
180 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10024
preference: Jackson

Claudette Black McDaniel
104 E. 15th Street
Richmond, VA 23224
preference: Hart

Juanita Mayfield
1510 19th Street, N.W
Oklahoma City, OK 73106
preference: Hart

Yvonne Miller
7403 Oakmont Drive
Norfolk, VA 23513
preference: Jackson

Hassan Minor
315 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, MA 02115
preference: Mondale

Terrance Pitts
County Supervisor
2011 W. Capitol Drive
Milwaukee, WI 53206
preference: unknown

Annette Robinson
178 Bainbridge Street
Brooklyn, NY 11233
preference: Jackson

W. Lee Russell
4642 Northtowne Blvd., #D
Columbus, OH 43229
preference: Hart

C. Delores Tucker
6700 Lincoln Dr.
Philadelphia, PA 19119
preference: unknown

Barbara Twine
12 D Bjerge Gade
St. Thomas, VI 00802
preference: Jackson

Helen Colvin Wallace
1112 E. 48th Street
Chicago, IL 60615
preference: Washington

Black Members of the Platform Committee

Everlina Antonetty
985 Woodycrest Avenue
Bronx, NY 10452
preference: Jackson

Joe Beasley
300 W. Peachtree Street
Atlanta, GA 30308
preference: Jackson

Pearl Beatty
465 Martin Luther King Blvd.
Hall of Records, Room 558
Newark, NY 07102
preference: unknown

Unita Blackwell
Mayor
Box 162
Mayersville, MS 39113
preference: unknown

Eddie Blankenship
City Councilmember
1928 S. Center Street
Birmingham, AL 35205
preference: Mondale

Gloria Brown
536 Cortland Avenue
Syracuse, NY 13205
preference: Mondale

Mary Cox
314 W. Clay Street
Richmond, VA 23222
preference: Jackson

Clara Dasher
32 Emerson Street
East Orange, NJ 07018
preference: Mondale

Herbert Daughtry
415 Atlantic Avenue
Brooklyn, NY 11217
preference: Jackson

Sharon P. Dixon
8227 W. Beach Terrace
Washington, D.C. 20012
preference: Mondale

Pete Drew
State Representative
2304 E. Fifth Avenue
Knoxville, TN 37917
preference: Jackson

Leroy Fair
2706 S. Grant Street
Arlington, VA 22202
preference: Hart

Joseph Gardner
6932 S. Paxton
Chicago, IL 60649
preference: Washington

William Garling
Pike Place, Box 94
Seattle, WA 98101
preference: Hart

Gwen Giles
City Assessor
City Hall, 12th and Market
St. Louis, MO 63101
preference: Jackson

Linda Grice
1118 Prince Street
Georgetown, SC 29440
preference: Jackson

Katie Hall
U.S. Representative
132 Cannon House Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20515
preference: uncommitted

William Jefferson
State Senator
1001 Howard Avenue, Ste. 3000
New Orleans, LA 70113
preference: Jackson

Creola Lee
3734 Manor Court
Indianapolis, IN 46218
preference: Mondale

Jewell McGowen
4306 Hirsch
Houston, TX 77026
preference: Jackson

Henry McKoy
5300 Applegate Court
Raleigh, NC 27609
preference: Hart

Barbara Roberts Mason
3204 Westwood
Lansing, MI 48906
preference: Mondale

Ray Miller
State Representative
3040 Elbern Avenue
Columbus, OH 43209
preference: Jackson

Gwen Moore
State Assembly Member
State Capitol
Sacremento, CA 95814
preference: uncommitted

Curtina Moreland-Young
210 Briarwood Drive
Apt. A-202
Jackson, MS 39211
preference: Jackson

Lottie Shackleford
1300 W. Capitol Avenue
Little Rock, AR 72201
preference: uncommitted

John Sturdivant
7821 Beard Court
Falls Church, VA 22043
preference: Mondale

Alvin Thorton
6010 Elmendorf Drive
Suitland, MD 20746
preference: Jackson

Robbin Washington
10124 Honolulu Drive
El Paso, TX 79925
preference: Jackson

John White
City Councilmember
City Hall, Room 486
Philadelphia, PA 19104
preference: unknown

Nadine P. Winter
DC Council Member
The District Building
1350 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
preference: Jackson

Annette Polly Williams
State Representative
3237 N. 14th Street
Milwaukee, WI 53204
preference: Hart

Larry Williams
City Treasurer
City Hall, 12th and Market
St. Louis, MO 63101
preference: Jackson

Black Members of the Rules Committee

Susan Barnes
370 Ginger Drive
Biloxi, MS 39532
preference: uncommitted

Marion Barry
Mayor
Suite 520
The District Building
1350 E Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20004
preference: Jackson

Mary Berry
Commissioner
1900 L Street, N.W., Ste. 301
Washington, D.C. 20036
preference: unknown

Barbara King Blake
2450 Cascade Road, S.W.
Atlanta, GA 30311
preference: Jackson

Julian Bond
State Senator
361 Westview Drive, S.W.
Atlanta, GA 30310
preference: Mondale

Horace M. Browner
24665 Longman Lane
Warrensville Heights, OH 44128
preference: Mondale

Alvin O. Chambliss, Jr.
Box 928
Oxford, MS 38655
preference: Jackson

James A. Cheek
410-B E. Henry Street
Spartanburg, SC 29302
preference: Jackson

Malcolm G. Dade, Jr.
3374 Sherborne
Detroit, MI 48821
preference: Mondale

James Demus
2018 Dennison
Little Rock, AR 72202
preference: Jackson

Alexander A. Farrelly
Box 1239
St. Thomas, VI 00801
preference: Mondale

W. B. Finney
436 Greeley
Kansas City, KS 66101
preference: Mondale

Franklin Florence
101 S. Plymouth Avenue
Rochester, NY 14608
preference: Jackson

James Ghee
Box 345
Farmville, VA 23901
preference: Jackson

Melvin J. Gravely
City Councilmember
420 Rice Avenue, N.E.
Canton, OH 44704
preference: Hart

Frank Hampton
6143 Spirea Street
Jacksonville, FL 32209
preference: Mondale

Elihu Harris
State Assembly Member
State Capitol
Sacramento, CA 95814
preference: Mondale

Helena Hicks
4000 Bowers Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21207
preference: Jackson

Joyce Hughes
5201 S. Cornell Avenue
Chicago, IL 60615
preference: Washington

Maynard Jackson
44 Broad St., N.W., Ste. 500
Atlanta, GA 30303
preference: unknown

Shirley Jackson
1111 S. Laflin, Apt. 207
Chicago, IL 60607
preference: Washington

Clifford Kelly
610 E. 61st Street
Chicago, IL 60637
preference: Washington

Mickey Leland
U.S. Representative
419 Cannon House Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20515
preference: unknown

Phyllis Lynch
609 Baldwin Avenue
Charlotte, NC 28204
preference: Jackson

James E. Mock
138 Queen Court
Clarksville, TN 37043
preference: Jackson

Ann Nash
Four Keim Drive
Pomona, NY 10970
preference: Jackson

Mary Pinkett
City Councilmember
324 DeKalb Avenue
Brooklyn, NY 11205
preference: Mondale

Glenda Pittman
733 Fuller, SE
Grand Rapids, MI 49507
preference: Hart

Ernestine S. Sapp
303 Neal Street
Tuskegee, AL 36083
preference: Mondale

William Simons
1917 Randolph Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20018
preference: Mondale

Samuel Thomas
303 N. Walnut
Tallulah, LA 71202
preference: Jackson

Albert Vann
State Assembly Member
362 McDonough Street
Brooklyn, NY 11233
preference: Jackson

Maxine Waters
State Representative
State Capitol
Sacramento, CA 95814
preference: unknown

Doris Wilson
531 Belmonte Park, N.
Dayton, OH 45405
preference: Jackson

7. HIGHLIGHTS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM

The 1984 party platform will be presented to the Democratic National Convention on Tuesday, July 17. There are five minority reports--that is, proposed amendments to the platform. Each minority report will be discussed and voted on in turn; then the entire platform will be put to a voice vote. Jesse Jackson is expected to speak to the convention on Tuesday in favor of his proposed platform plank on the runoff primary (Minority Report Number 2).

This year's platform represents an interesting departure from the last several Democratic platforms. There are few specific budget or legislative recommendations. Instead, the platform focuses on Democratic opposition to the Reagan administration's policies, on restoring programs and executive agencies' policies to their pre-1980 status, and on committing the party to certain broad ideological positions.

Yet there are enough specifics in the platform to keep most Democrats happy--and to spark some controversy as well. The following is a synopsis of positions on issues of particular interest to black delegates. The minority reports are discussed at the end of this section.

DRAFT PLATFORM

I. GROWTH AND PROSPERITY

Fiscal Policy

The platform attacks the Reagan administration for its tax cuts, which it says helped "the favored few," and for the federal budget deficit. The platform proposes to reduce the deficit by controlling costs in defense and health care.

In addition, the Democrats advocate legislation for an "adequate and fair" tax system by "broadening the tax base, simplifying the tax code, and eliminating unproductive deductions."

Industrial Policy

The platform proposes an "Economic Cooperation Council" composed of representatives from business, labor, and government to improve productivity and American competitiveness in world markets. It recommends the use of "industry-wide agreements" and "appropriate financing mechanisms" to assist declining industries. While the platform encourages foreign auto makers "to invest here and create jobs where their markets are," it stops short of endorsing the controversial domestic content bill, which would require that all foreign-made autos include a certain percentage of American-made parts. The domestic content provision was strongly backed by labor unions and endorsed by Walter Mondale but was strongly opposed by Gary Hart.

Jobs and Unemployment

The thrust of the employment policies is a commitment to employ all Americans who want a job. The platform states that unemployment among minority teenagers will receive special attention and calls for meaningful job training for students, for housewives returning to the workplace, for women who receive public assistance, and for workers displaced by economic change. Specific proposals include the following:

- develop a comprehensive national manpower skills development policy targeted at the unemployed and underemployed;
- overhaul the current unemployment compensation program;
- provide adequate funding for job-search listings programs;
- examine new approaches to training and retraining programs that could be financed directly by government, by labor and management, or by tax-free contributions;
- require companies to give advance notification of plant closings or large-scale layoffs in order to facilitate workers' transitions.

It should be noted that the 1984 platform--in contrast to the 1980 platform or Jackson's "New Directions" platform--does not specifically endorse compliance with the Hawkins-Humphrey Act, although there is "a commitment to full employment."

Minority Business Policy

The platform calls for increasing government procurement opportunities for small and minority firms, encouraging the deposit of federal funds in minority-owned financial institutions, and implementing all set-aside provisions for minority businesses. The Small Business Administration, Minority Business Development Administration, and other government institutions are to ensure that the needs of smaller minority businesses are met at the regional and local level.

Education

Among the education proposals covered in the draft platform, the following are particularly noteworthy:

- supplement community-based programs encouraging return to school by students who have left because of teenage parenthood, alcohol or drug abuse, or economic difficulties at home;
- emphasize training and employment opportunities for youth;
- prevent qualified students from being deprived of a college education because of financial circumstances;
- support the existence of historically black colleges and increase funding to black and Hispanic institutions;
- exclude "segregation academies" from government funding.

Unlike the 1980 platform, the 1984 platform does not take a stand on school desegregation policies such as busing. (The 1980 platform supported "the mandatory transportation of students . . . for the purpose of desegregation . . . as a judicial tool of last resort.")

Housing

The platform calls for upgrading and replenishing public housing in minority communities; creating more affordable low-income units through providing low-interest loans; enforcing fair housing standards, which prohibit discrimination in the housing market; and developing short-range emergency responses to the problem of homelessness and long-range solutions to the causes of homelessness.

Investing in People

The platform calls for restoring school breakfast and lunch programs and supplementing food programs for low-income pregnant women. Other proposals include the following:

- restore the National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act;
- establish after-school-care programs;
- augment day-care programs;
- strengthen child abuse prevention programs;
- oppose efforts to slash Social Security;
- support lower electricity and natural gas rates for senior citizens and low-income Americans.

II. JUSTICE

Several proposals in this section aim at reversing the policies of the Reagan administration:

- return the Commission on Civil Rights to independent status and increase its funding;
- restore the strength of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and renew the commitment of the Department of Justice and the Department of Labor to enforce civil rights laws and executive orders;
- reverse the Supreme Court's decision in the Grove City College case, which held that nondiscrimination guidelines were binding only on specific programs receiving federal funds and not the recipient institution as a whole;
- prohibit the use of federal financial assistance to subsidize invidious discrimination;
- support a well-funded and unrestricted Legal Services Corporation.

Empowerment

The platform proposes a number of measures for increasing the political influence of women and minorities, including these:

- aim to double the number of minorities and women in Congress by 1988;
- create and fund a "talent bank" of minorities and women to fill policy positions "in the next administration";

- recruit minorities and women to run for governorships and all state and local offices;
- spend maximum resources to elect women and minority candidates and offer these candidates in-kind services, such as political organizing and strategic advice;
- target the bulk of voter registration funds at registering minorities and women.

Reproductive Freedom

The platform opposes "government interference" in reproductive decisions, especially when such interference "denies poor Americans their right to privacy by funding or advocating one or a limited number of reproductive choices only." The platform supports the abortion standard set by the Supreme Court in 1973 and opposes any constitutional amendment to restrict or overturn that decision.

Immigration

The platform opposes sanctions designed to penalize employers who hire undocumented workers, because such sanctions "will inevitably increase discrimination against minority Americans." Other positions include:

- opposition to guest-worker programs;
- opposition to identification procedures that threaten civil liberties, as well as any changes that subvert "the basic principle of family unification";
- support of amnesty for undocumented immigrants with a 1982 cut-off date;
- creation of an international body on immigration, to address economic development problems in Mexico and other Latin American countries, which contribute to unauthorized immigration.

Equal Rights for Women

According to the platform, a "top priority" of a Democratic administration would be the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment as originally passed by Congress. The platform calls for "equal pay for equal work and equal pay for work of comparable worth," and pledges that every step will be taken to close the wage gap between men and women.

Crime

The platform proposes:

- "tough restraints on the manufacture, transportation, and sale of snub-nosed handguns, which have no legitimate sporting use and are used in a high proportion of violent crimes";
- sentencing reforms that routinely include monetary or other forms of restitution to victims.

Advisory Committees

The platform calls for the Democratic party nominee "upon election" to establish the following national advisory committees to the president and the national Democratic party: civil rights and justice; fair housing; affirmative action; equal rights for women; rights for workers; immigration policy; and voting rights.

Affirmative Action

The platform explicitly rejects quotas but reaffirms the "long-standing commitment to the eradication of discrimination in all aspects of American life through the use of affirmative action goals and time-tables." (See also Minority Report Number 1.)

Voting Rights

The platform calls for the elimination of "all discriminatory barriers to full voting rights." Specifically, the platform proposes funding a serious, in-depth study of practices and procedures that may be discriminatory. The party pledges to seek to eliminate those procedures and practices that the study finds to "discriminate or act to dilute votes of minority citizens," and state parties are instructed to take "positive steps" to achieve legislative or party rule changes "wherever a runoff primary or other voting practice is found to be discriminatory." (See also Minority Report Number 2.)

III. PEACE, SECURITY, AND FREEDOM

In addition to the following planks, a plank on the use of military force has been proposed by Gary Hart (see Minority Report Number 5).

The Nuclear Arms Race

The platform calls for the United States to take the initiative in ending the arms race and to challenge the Soviets to follow suit. Specific proposals include the following:

- promptly negotiate a comprehensive, mutual, and verifiable nuclear weapons freeze;
- pursue deep reductions in nuclear arsenals;
- ban weapons in space;
- terminate production of the MX missile system and the B-1 bomber;
- negotiate a verifiable and comprehensive test ban treaty;
- seek a verifiable international ban on the production of nuclear weapons-grade material;
- "move toward" a policy of "no first use" of nuclear weapons (see also Minority Report No. 3).

Reductions in Military Spending

The platform supports an increase in military spending at a lower rate than that projected by the Reagan administration (see also Minority Report No. 4).

Middle East Policy

The platform makes strong statements on Middle East policies. It—

- opposes the sale of AWACs, Stinger missiles, or other "highly advanced weaponry to avowed enemies of Israel";
- favors moving the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem;
- opposes "any consideration of negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization, unless the PLO abandons terrorism, recognizes the state of Israel, and adheres to U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338."

The platform does not discuss the prospects for a Palestinian homeland; it simply calls for "a resolution of the Palestinian issue."

Africa Policy

The platform calls for "a policy of substantial increases in humanitarian assistance, a major thrust in agricultural technology transfers, and cessation of the unfortunate tendency to hold such aid hostage to East-West confrontations or other geopolitical aims."

The platform also calls for the reversal of the Reagan administration's "constructive engagement" policy in relations with South Africa. Specific proposals include the following:

- put maximum pressure on South Africa to hasten the establishment of a democratic, unitary political system;
- enforce the 1977 U.N. arms embargo against South Africa;
- ban all new loans by U.S. business interests to the South African government and all investments and loans to the South African private sector until there is substantial progress toward full political participation of all people in South Africa;
- ban the sale or transfer of sophisticated computers and nuclear technology to South Africa, the importation of South African gold coins, and U.S. landing rights for South African air flights

The platform also calls for working toward legitimate rights of self-determination in Namibia by demanding compliance with U.N. Security Council Resolution 435--the six-year-old blueprint for Namibian independence--and imposing severe fines on U.S. companies that violate U.N. decrees prohibiting foreign exploitation of Namibian mineral wealth.

Global Debt and Development

The platform calls for recognition that "the growth and stability of the Third World depends on its ability to sell its products in international markets." It advocates sensitivity to the North/South dialogue on such issues as volatile commodity prices, inequities in the functioning of the international financial and monetary markets, and removal of barriers to the export of Third World goods.

According to the platform, the party will pursue policies for economic development, aid, and trade that meet the needs of the people of the developing world and further American interests. The next Democratic president will support development policies that meet the basic needs of the poor rather than "trickle down" approaches, which never benefit those on the bottom.

MINORITY REPORTS

The five minority reports will be presented and voted on during the convention session on Tuesday. The minority reports are proposed amendments to the Democratic platform that have been signed by 25 percent of the members of the Platform Committee.

In theory, a platform amendment can be proposed on the floor. Such a motion would be ruled out of order by the chair, but that ruling could be overridden by a two-thirds majority of the delegates. Thus, it is unlikely but not impossible to amend the platform on the floor.

Number 1. Affirmative Action

Platform: "The Party, while rejecting quotas, strongly reaffirms its long-standing commitment to the eradication of discrimination in all aspects of American life through the use of affirmative action goals and time-tables and other court-ordered remedies to overturn historic patterns of discrimination in hiring, training, promotions, contracting, and education."

Minority Report: "The party reaffirms its long-standing commitment to the eradication of discrimination in all aspects of American life through the use of affirmative action goals and time-tables to overturn historic patterns and the historic burdens of discrimination in hiring, training, promotions, federal procurement, education, and the administration of all federal programs. The Democratic Party opposes quotas which are inconsistent with the principles of our country."

Discussion: The minority report, proposed by Jackson, suggests that quotas would be permitted under some circumstances. Note the absence of a comma after the word "quotas" in the minority report, indicating that only some quotas are "inconsistent with the principles of our country."

Number 2. Voting Rights

Platform: "(T)he Democratic Party pledges to fund a serious, in-depth study of the use of second primaries and other practices throughout the nation that may discriminate against voting rights. This study shall be completed in ample time prior to the 1986 elections for the Party to act.

"The Democratic Party commits to use its full resources to eliminate any second primary, gerrymandering, at-large requirements, annexation, dual registration, dual voting or other voting practices that discriminate or act to dilute votes of minority citizens."

Minority Report: "The most basic right in a democracy is the right to vote. In the protection of this right, the Democratic Party must adopt strong measures to enforce the Voting Rights Act, including the complete elimination of the runoff primary, which is a grave impediment to the right of the vote to be counted in our political system. Other impediments to the right to vote such as at-large requirements, gerrymandering, annexation, dual registration, dual voting, and other schemes should also be eliminated in order for the empowerment of the disenfranchised and the rejected to become a reality."

Discussion: In the platform, elimination of the runoff primary and other controversial practices is contingent upon a finding by "a serious, in-depth study" that such practices discriminate against minority voters and candidates in particular instances. In the minority report, proposed by Jackson, it is taken as given that these practices (including the runoff primary) are discriminatory and should therefore be eliminated.

Number 3. Nuclear Weapons

Platform: The platform advocates "achieving a balance of conventional forces in order to reduce reliance on nuclear weapons and to permit the Atlantic Alliance to move toward the adoption of a 'no first use' policy."

Minority Report: The minority report advocates "adoption of a policy of 'no first use' of nuclear weapons."

Discussion: The minority report, proposed by Jackson, states that "no first use" would be the policy of a Democratic president, while the platform states that a Democratic president would merely "move toward" the adoption of such a policy after certain other conditions have been met.

Number 4. Defense Spending
Platform: No corresponding text. The minority report would become the last paragraph of the section on "Defense Policy."

Minority Report: "The Democratic Party understands that excessive military spending endangers our national security, just as inadequate spending does. Today, our cities look as if a war has already occurred. Tens of thousands are homeless; millions without jobs. We cannot undertake vitally needed domestic initiatives unless military spending is reduced. Defense is not at issue; we spend far more than what is required for a strong defense. By eliminating wasteful procurement policies and unnecessary weapons systems, by cutting back on our interventionary forces, by negotiating a nuclear freeze, and by ensuring that our allies--now our economic rivals--bear their fair share of the military burden, we can gain substantial real reductions in military spending over the next five years."

Discussion: The platform elsewhere commits the party to "increased spending levels" on conventional forces in Europe, without specifying an overall level of spending. The minority report, proposed by Jackson, commits the party to seeking lower military spending in absolute terms.

Number 5. Military Spending
Platform: "Notwithstanding efforts to lessen the risk of conflict, the United States must also be prepared to defend its vital interests militarily when they are threatened. However, we will not hazard American lives where our purpose is unclear, our goals are unattainable, or negotiation when feasible has been left untried."

Minority Report: "In the face of the Reagan Administration's cavalier approach to the use of military force around the world, the Democratic Party affirms its commitment to the selective, judicious use of American military power in consonance with Constitutional principles and reinforced by the War Powers Act.

"A Democratic President will be prepared to apply military force when vital American interests are threatened, particularly in the event of an attack upon the United States or its immediate allies. But he or she will not hazard American lives or engage in unilateral military involvement

- where our objectives are not clear;
- until all instruments of diplomacy and non-military leverage, as appropriate, have been exhausted;
- where our objectives threaten unacceptable costs or unreasonable levels of military force;
- where the local forces supported are not working to resolve the causes of conflict;
- where multilateral or allied options for the resolution of conflict are available.

"Further, a Democratic Administration will take all reasonable domestic action to minimize U.S. vulnerability to international instability, such as reducing Western reliance on Persian Gulf oil and other strategic resources. To this end, a Democratic Administration will implement, with our allies, a multilateral strategy for reduction of allied dependence on critical resources from volatile regions of the world."

Discussion: The minority report, proposed by Hart, details more restrictive conditions for the use of military force as an instrument of foreign policy than are proposed in the platform.

8. ROSTER OF BLACK DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES

ALABAMA

DELEGATES

Mr. Q.D. Adams
415 Keeling Rd.
East Gadsden, AL 35903
CD 4
Mondale

Ms. Lenora Alexander
603 E. Hargrove Rd.
Apt. 408
Tuscaloosa, AL 35405
CD 7
Jackson

Mrs. Richard Arrington
1245 Mims St., S.W.
Birmingham, AL 35211
CD 6
Mondale

Hon. Richard Arrington, Jr.
Mayor
1245 Mims Street, S.W.
Birmingham, AL 35211
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Ms. Lucille D. Ayers
16 11th Avenue, S.W.
Birmingham, AL 35211
CD 6
Mondale

Hon. William M. Branch
Probate Judge
Box 656
Eutaw, AL 35462
CD 7
Jackson

Ms. Della Bryant
State Executive Committee
Member
Convention Rules Committee
Member
2930 Milton Rd.
Montgomery, AL 36110
CD 2
Mondale

Ms. Carolyn J. Caver
3468 Normanbridge
Apt. B
Montgomery, AL 36105
At-large
Hart

Ms. Gladys T. Coleman
State Executive Committee
Member
228 63rd Street
Fairfield, AL 35064
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Sallie B. Cook
4001 22nd Street, N.E.
Holt, AL 35404
CD 7
Mondale

Hon. Michael A. Figures
State Senator
308 Cedar Drive
Mobile, AL 36617
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Vivian Davis Figures
308 Cedar Drive
Mobile, AL 36617
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Marie Foster
Box 1195
Selma, AL 36701
CD 7
Jackson

Ms. Norma S. Gaillard
12 Gaillard Drive
Tuskegee, AL 36083
CD 3
Mondale

Hon. Jeff Germany
City Council Member
1101 Circle Trail
Birmingham, AL 35214
CD 6
Mondale

Hon. Andrew M. Hayden
Mayor
Box 61
Uniontown, AL 36786
CD 7
Mondale

Hon. Earl Hilliard
State Senator
1605 8th Avenue, N.
Birmingham, AL 35203
CD 6
Jackson

Ms. Audrey J. Horn
6303 2nd Avenue S.
Birmingham, AL 35212
CD 6
Jackson

Ms. Irene Johnson Ware
755 Donald Street
Mobile, AL 36617
CD 1
Jackson

Hon. John Knight
County Commissioner
Box 6148
Montgomery, AL 36106
CD 2
Mondale

Ms. Gwendolyn M. Patton
46 E. Patton Street
Montgomery, AL 36105
CD 2
Jackson

Dr. Joe Reed
State Party Vice Chairman
Box 4177
Montgomery, AL 36104
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Frankye H. Underwood
State Executive Committee
Member
Democratic National Committee
Member
Box 2144
Jasper AL 35501
At-large
Mondale

ALTERNATES

Mr. Lucius D. Amerson
Sheriff
604 Gautier Street
Tuskegee, AL 36083
At-Large
Hart

Ms. Tracey Yvonne Bell
2622 6th Avenue, N.
Bessemer, AL 35020
CD 7
Mondale

Hon. Pat Davis
State Representative
9312 Sears Drive
Birmingham, AL 35206
CD 6
Mondale

Mr. James A. Dunn
1728 Cooper Avenue
Anniston, AL 36201
CD 3
Mondale

Hon. Alvin Holmes
State Representative
325 Buford Way
Montgomery, AL 36105
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Carrie H. Johnson
Rt. 1, Box 246
Lisman, AL 36912
CD 7
Jackson

Mr. Sylvester Jones
3015 Highland Avenue, Apt. 2
Birmingham, AL 35205
At-Large
Hart

Hon. Bobbie G. McDowell
State Representative
2322 Dartmouth Avenue
Bessemer, AL 35020
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Edna Bonner Rhodes
2029 Persons Street
Whistler, AL 36612
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Frances Smiley
National Secretary
Young Democrats of America
4037-D Beth Manor Drive
Montgomery, AL 36109
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Donald V. Watkins
3519 Cleveland Avenue
Montgomery, AL 36105
CD 2
Mondale

ALASKA

DELEGATES

Mr. Ben Humphries
3707 Larcarno Dr.
Anchorage, AK 99508
CD 1
Mondale

Ms. Virgie King
State Party Vice Chair
4010 Birch Way
Fairbanks, AK 99701
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Vander Pearson
4705 Palo Verde
Fairbanks, AK 99701
CD 1
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Ms. Beverly Ferrell
6000 Norm Dr.
Anchorage, AK 99507
At-Large
Hart

ARIZONA

DELEGATES

Mr. Calvin C. Goode
City Council Member
1508 E. Jefferson
Phoenix, AZ 85034
Jackson

Ms. Hester Johnson
R.R. 2, Box 501
Sierra Vista, AZ 85635
At-large
Hart

ALTERNATES

Mr. Leroy Dyson
9191 E. Kayenta Drive
Tucson, AZ 85749
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Caryl Wade Terrell
1917 E. Myrna Lane
Tempe, AZ 85284
At-Large
Jackson

ARKANSAS

DELEGATES

Ms. Annie M. Abrams
1925 Wolfe Street
Little Rock, AR 72202
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Georgia Bledsoe
Box 94
Marianna, AR 72360
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Nancy D. Blount
33 North Poplar
Marianna, AR 72360
CD 1
Mondale

Ms. Kappy Brooks-Gordon
617 South Oak
Little Rock, AR 72205
At-large
Mondale

Mr. William H. Clemmons, Jr.
4303 Union Avenue
Pine Bluff, AR 71603
CD 4
Jackson

Ms. Hazel Coleman
517 Jean Street
Helena, AR 72342
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Joyce A. Elliott
1111 Jean Lane
El Dorado, AR 71730
CD 4
Mondale

Ms. Jean Hervey
Route 1, Box 80
Plummerville, AR 72127
CD 2
Mondale

Mr. Curley Lee Jackson
Box 283
Wilmar, AR 71675
At-Large
Jackson

Dr. Rose A. Pace
Box 8921
Pine Bluff, AR 71601
CD 4
Jackson

Ms. Rachelle Richardson
815 West 2nd Court
Russellville, AR 72801
CD 3
Hart

Ms. Lottie Shackelford
State Party Vice Chair
1300 West Capitol Avenue
Little Rock, AR 72201
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Samuel Turner, Jr.
Box 1043
West Memphis, AR 72301
CD 1
Jackson

Mr. Henry Wilkins, III
State Representative
303 North Maple
Pine Bluff, AR 71601
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Jewell Willis, Jr.
315 West 5th Street
Malvern, AR 72104
CD 4
Mondale

ALTERNATES

Mr. Frederick H. Freeman
637 Choctaw Avenue
Forrest City, AR 72335
At-Large
Jackson

Mr. Richard C. Smith, Jr.
Rt. 1, Box 367
Tillar, AR 71670
CD 4
Jackson

Mr. Woodson Walker
Suite 990
One Union National Plaza
Little Rock, AR 72201
At-Large
Mondale

CALIFORNIA

DELEGATES

Ms. Margaret Amoureux
562 Rosal Ave.
Oakland, CA 94610
At-Large
Hart

Ms. Marguerite Archie-Hudson
3940 Carmona
Los Angeles, CA 90008
CD 28
Jackson

Mr. Gerald Baptiste
1311 Channing
Berkeley, CA 94702
CD 8
Jackson

Hon. Tom Bradley
Mayor
City Hall, Room 305
200 N. Spring St.
Los Angeles, CA 90012
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Mr. Bishop H. Hartford Brookins
4625 S. Crenshaw Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90043
CD 28
Jackson

Hon. Willie Brown, Jr.
State Assembly Member
State Capitol
Sacramento, CA 95814
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Yvonne B. Burke
1970 Mandeville Canyon Rd.
Los Angeles, CA 90049
At-Large
Hart

Ms. Barbara Lee Chisom
1004 21st St.
Oakland, CA 94607
CD 8
Jackson

Ms. Yvonne K. Day
12807 Butler
Compton, CA 90221
CD 31
Jackson

Hon. Ronald V. Dellums
U.S. Representative
Credentials Committee Member
2136 Rayburn HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Hon. Julian C. Dixon
U.S. Representative
423 Cannon HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Hon. Mervyn M. Dymally
U.S. Representative
1717 Longworth HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Thelma Eaton
1644 Wellington Rd.
Los Angeles, CA 90019
Party or Elected Official
Hart

Ms. Ann Fields
3920 Magnolia Ave.
Lynwood, CA 90262
CD 31
Jackson

Mr. John W. Frierson
5848 Overhill Dr.
Los Angeles, CA 90043
CD 28
Jackson

Mr. Ed Harris
2117 W. Thoreau St.
Los Angeles, CA 90047
CD 29
Jackson

Hon. Augustus Hawkins
U.S. Representative
2371 Rayburn HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Inola Henry
2232 W. 24th St., #302
Los Angeles, CA 90018
Party or Elected Official
Hart

Ms. Mary B. Henry
303 S. Poinsettia
Compton, CA 90221
CD 31
Jackson

Ms. Marcela Howell
811 S. Wilton, #7
Los Angeles, CA 90005
Party or Elected Official
Hart

Mr. Larry Irvin
2315 11th Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 92660
At-Large
Hart

Ms. Dorothy Jackson
5279 Southridge
Los Angeles, CA 92660
At-Large
Hart

Ms. Nancy Johnson
1207 W. 127th St.
Compton, CA 90222
Party or Elected Official
Hart

Mr. Sky Johnson
1320 N St., #201
Sacramento, CA 92660
At-Large
Hart

Mr. Thomas Kilgore, Jr.
1233 Westchester St.
Los Angeles, CA 90019
CD 28
Jackson

Ms. Verna King
5721 Churchward St.
San Diego, CA 92114
CD 44
Mondale

Mr. James E. Lewis
4137 Crenshaw Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90016
CD 28
Jackson

Ms. Angela R. McDonald
1438 Abila St.
Carson, CA 90745
CD 31
Jackson

Ms. Lillian Mobley
164 W. 85th Pl.
Los Angeles, CA 90003
CD 29
Jackson

Hon. Gwen Moore
State Assembly Member
Platform Committee Member
State Capitol
Sacramento, CA 95814
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Sidney Morse
5846 S. Croft
Los Angeles, CA 95030
At-Large
Hart

Ms. Audrey J. Quarles
1224 S. Gramercy Pl.
Los Angeles, CA 90019
CD 28
Jackson

Mr. Frank M. Reid, III
1231 S. St. Andrews Pl.
Los Angeles, CA 90019
CD 28
Jackson

Ms. Patricia L. Rochelle
858 E. 104th St.
Los Angeles, CA 90044
CD 29
Jackson

Mr. Don C. Stephenson
7619 S. Dalton
Los Angeles, CA 90047
CD 29
Jackson

Ms. Doris Thomas
1293 Stanyan
San Francisco, CA 94117
CD 5
Jackson

Mr. Oscar G. Thompson, Sr.
1887 E. Turmont St.
Carson, CA 90746
CD 31
Jackson

Mr. Walter R. Tucker
501 W. Tichenor
Compton, CA 90220
CD 31
Jackson

Ms. Susan Walters
2815 Van Ness, #1
San Francisco, CA 94109
At-Large
Hart

Ms. Doris M. Ward
440 Davis Ct., #1409
San Francisco, CA 94100
CD 5
Mondale

Hon. Maxine Waters
State Assembly Member
Rules Committee Member
8715 Orchard Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90044
CD 29
Jackson

Hon. Diane Watson
State Senator
State Capitol
Sacramento, CA 95814
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Anita Williams
362 Euclid, #302
Oakland, CA 94610
CD 8
Jackson

Mr. Leon L. Williams
3024 "E" St.
San Diego, CA 92102
CD 44
Mondale

Mr. Stephen Williams
240 St. Joseph, #114
San Francisco, CA 94115
CD 6
Hart

Hon. Lionel Wilson
Mayor
5921 Wood Dr.
Oakland, CA 94611
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Ms. Sodonia M. Wilson
540 Darien Way
San Francisco, CA 94127
Party or Elected Official
Hart

Mr. Rod Wright
762 S. Dalton Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90047
CD 29
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Mr. Presley Burroughs, III
3451 S. Sycamore Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90016
At-Large
Hart

Mr. Marvin Keith Carson
55 Fairmont Ave. #306
Oakland, CA 94611
CD 8
Jackson

Mr. Thomas Casey
724 Rand Ave.
Oakland, CA 94610
CD 8
Jackson

Mr. A. Albert Casey, Jr.
1355 Herrington Ave.
San Bernardino, CA 92411
CD 36
Mondale

Ms. Gwenn Craig
493 Haight St.
San Francisco, CA 94117
CD 6
Hart

Mr. Michael Davis
128 W. 45th St.
Los Angeles, CA 90037
CD 29
Jackson

Ms. Poindexter Henry
2106 W. 73rd St.
Los Angeles, CA 90047
CD 29
Jackson

Mr. Frank J. Higgins
15803 S. Lorella Ave.
Gardena, CA 90248
CD 31
Jackson

Ms. Teresa Hughes
State Capitol
Sacramento, CA 95814
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Noma R. Lemoine
5120 Brea Crest Dr.
Los Angeles, CA 90043
CD 28
Jackson

Ms. Juanita M. McDonald
1438 Abila St.
Carson, CA 90745
CD 31
Jackson

Ms. Laura Minor
8428 S. Hooper Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90001
At-Large
Hart

Mr. Jerry E. Pennington
4041 Marlton, #250
Los Angeles, CA 90008
CD 28
Jackson

Ms. Sadie M. Reid
3322 Hood
Santa Ana, CA 92704
CD 38
Mondale

COLORADO

DELEGATES

Ms. Dorothy M. Hudson
2655 Locust Street
Denver, CO 80207
At-Large
Hart

Mr. Jim Poole
90 Fordham Circle
Pueblo, CO 81005
CD 3
Hart

Hon. Arie P. Taylor
State Representative
3328 Magnolia St.
Denver, CO 80207
Party or Elected Official
Hart

Ms. Gwendolyn Thomas
3528 S. Richfield Street
Aurora, CO 80013
CD 6
Hart

Ms. Venita Vinson
2685 Fairfax Street
Denver, CO 80207
CD 1
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Mr. Milton E. Proby
2539 Rimrock
Colorado Springs, CO 80915
CD 5
Hart

Ms. Sharon Stewart
2950 Vine Street
Denver, CO 80205
At-Large
Hart

CONNECTICUT

DELEGATES

Ms. Mary Harrell
602 Newhall Street
Hamden, CT 06514
At-large
Mondale

Hon. Margaret E. Morton
State Senator
25 Currier Street
Bridgeport, CT 06607
CD 4
Hart

Ms. Emma Pierce
543 Church Street
New Britain, CT 06053
At-large
Mondale

Hon. Wilber G. Smith
State Senator
196 Palm Street
Hartford, Ct 06112
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Mary W. Suggs
Town Vice Chair
10 Sandpiper Drive
Bloomfield, CT 06002
CD 1
Mondale

Ms. Ruth Tencza
Parmelee Hill Road
Durham, CT 06422
CD 2
Mondale

Ms. Thelma M. Waterman
48 Godfrey Street
Groton, Connecticut 06340
At-large
Hart

ALTERNATES

Ms. Brendella Coleman
64 Clark Street
West Haven, CT 06516
At-Large
Hart

Hon. Carry Saxon Perry
State Representative
203 Ridgefield Street
Hartford, CT 06112
At-Large
Jackson

DELAWARE

DELEGATES

Ms. Beulah Gray
722 Forest Street
Dover, DE 19901
CD 1
Hart

Ms. Marie Simmons
Seven Dogwood Dr., Briar Park
Dover, DE 19901
At-Large
Mondale

Mr. Joe L. White
2520 Thatcher Street
Wilmington, DE 19802
At-Large
Mondale

ALTERNATES

Mr. Dimberu H. Merriam
519 E. Fifth Street
Wilmington, DE 19801
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

DELEGATES

Mr. Johnny Barnes
2003A Ft. Davis St., S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20020
D 2
Jackson

Hon. Marion Barry, Jr.
Mayor
Suite 520
The District Building
1350 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Ms. Linda Cropp
D.C. Board of Education Member
D.C. Board of Education
415 12th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
D 2
Jackson

Mr. Ivanhoe Donaldson
State Party Chair
2139 Wyoming Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Hon. Walter E. Fauntroy
U.S. Representative
2135 Rayburn HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. James S. Featherstone, Jr.
2430 32nd Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20020
D 2
Jackson

Ms. Chestie Marie Graham
1827 Massachusetts Ave., S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20036
At-Large
Jackson

Ms. Charlene Drew Jarvis
D.C. Council Member
The District Council
1350 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
D 2
Mondale

Mr. R. Calvin Lockridge
D.C. Board of Education Member
121 Raleigh Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20032
D 1
Jackson

Ms. Wilhelmina Rolark
D.C. Council Member
The District Council
1350 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
D 1
Jackson

Ms. Barbara Lett Simmons
D.C. Board of Education Member
State Party Secretary
D.C. Board of Education
415 12th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
D 2
Jackson

Mr. Frank Smith, Jr.
D.C. Council Member
The District Council
1350 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
D 1
Jackson

Mr. William R. Spaulding
D.C. Council Member
The District Council
1350 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
D 2
Mondale

Ms. Joslyn Williams
1311 Delaware Ave., S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Daria P. Winter
State Party Vice Chair
48 54th Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Nadine P. Winter
D.C. Council Member
The District Council
1350 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
D 1
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Ms. Sharon P. Dixon
DNC Executive Committee
Platform Committee Member
8227 W. Beach Terrace
Washington, D.C. 20012
D 2
Mondale

Mr. John Peter Matthews
307 11th Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003
D 1
Jackson

Ms. Barbara Quick
4520 Blagden Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20011
D 2
Jackson

FLORIDA

DELEGATES

Ms. Alma L. Cambridge
556 14th Street, North
Naples, FL 33940
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Barbara Carey
775 N.W. 42nd Street
Miami, FL 33127
CD 18
Mondale

Ms. Willa Livingston Carson
1777 Harbor Drive
Clearwater, FL 33515
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Eufaula Frazier
4929 N.W. 17th Avenue
Miami, FL 33142
CD 18
Mondale

Mr. Donald G. Gaffney
5633 Cleveland
Jacksonville, Florida 32209
CD 3
Mondale

Ms. Juanita Moore Geathers
346 Avenue O, S.W.
Winter Haven, FL 33880
At-large
Mondale

Hon. Arnett E. Giradeau
State Senator
4215 Ribault Road Lane
Jacksonville, Florida 32208
CD 3
Uncommitted

Mr. Frank Hampton
County Executive Committee
Member
6143 Spirea Street
Jacksonville, FL 32209
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Mr. R.B. Holmes, Jr.
1141 Brandywine
Jacksonville, FL 32208
CD 3
Jackson

Ms. Gwendolyn K. Humphrey
4760 Gearhart Road
Tallahassee, FL 32303
At-large
Hart

Ms. Gloria G. Jackson
2661 N.W. 16th Court
Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33311
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Bettye King
5600 North Dixie Hwy. #606
West Palm Beach, FL 33407
CD 12
Hart

Hon. Willie Logan
State Representative
2481 N.W. 152nd Terrace
Miami, FL 33054
Party or Elected Official
Hart

Ms. Althalie Range
5727 N.W. 17th Ave.
Miami, FL 33142
At-Large
Mondale

Mr. Thomas Rolle
1359 6th Street
West Palm Beach, FL 33401
CD 12
Hart

Mr. Perkins T. Shelton
2920 Pallanza Dr., S.
St. Petersburg, FL 33705
CD 8
Mondale

Ms. Jeanese Yvonne Wells
729 N. Himes Avenue
Box 22521
Tampa, Florida 33622
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Ester J. Williams
6185 Ringgold Circle
Pensacola, FL 32503
At-large
Hart

Ms. Paullette Sims Wimberley
17340 N.W. 29th Avenue
Opa Locka, FL 33055
CD 17
Mondale

Ms. Kathleen Cooper Wright
3020 N.W. Six Court
Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33311
CD 15
Mondale

ALTERNATES

Ms. Constance G. Gilbert
1375 Woodruff Avenue
Jacksonville, FL 32205
CD 3
Mondale

Ms. Brenda D. McCaslin
Box 365
Alachua, FL 32615
CD 6
Mondale

Hon. Carrie P. Meek
State Senator
6830 NW 28th Avenue
Miami, FL 33147
At-Large
Jackson

Ms. M. Sue Riley
2604 Chollet Drive
Tallahassee, FL 32303
At-Large
Hart

Mr. Peter C. Williams
1726 28th Avenue South
St. Petersburg, FL 33712
CD 8
Askew

Mr. Roland V. Williams
301 Ferdinand Drive
Longwood, FL 32750
CD 5
Askew

GEORGIA

DELEGATES

Ms. Linda Aikens
1869 Farmer Rd., NW
Conyers, GA 30207
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Sandra Austin
2063 Willamette Way
Decatur, GA 30032
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Mr. Roy L. Baker
Box 92
Kingsland, GA 31548
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Carolyn Long Banks
City Council Member
100 City Hall
Atlanta, GA 30335
At-Large
Jackson

Mr. Walter Bellamy
2884 Lake Shore Dr.
College Park, GA 30337
At-Large
Mondale

Hon. Sanford D. Bishop, Jr.
State Representative
Box 709
Columbus, GA 31902
CD 3
Mondale

Ms. Dorothy C. Black
893 McCall Road
Macon, GA 31201
CD 8
Mondale

Mr. Tyrone Brooks
State Representative
1315 Beecher Street, SW
Atlanta, GA 30310
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Reginald Eaves
1158 Cardinal Way, S.W.
Atlanta, GA 30311
At-Large
Jackson

Mr. Henry C. Ficklin
1058 Columbus Street
Macon, GA 31201
CD 8
Jackson

Ms. Deanie Frazier
201 E. 39th Street
Savannah, GA 31401
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Letitia Glover
555 Rosemont Drive
Decatur, GA 30032
At-Large
Hart

Ms. McCree L. Harris
909 Gordon Avenue
Albany, GA 31701
CD 2
Mondale

Mr. Charlie A. Hicks, Sr.
Box 473
Reynolds, GA 31076
CD 3
Mondale

Ms. Elaine H. Lucas
City Council Member
448 Woolfolk Street
Macon, GA 31201
CD 8
Jackson

Ms. Patricia Mathis
2612 Dogwood Avenue, F-20
Savannah, GA 31404
CD 1
Jackson

Mr. Abduhl Allah Mohammed
373 Climax Street, S.E.
Atlanta, GA 30315
CD 5
Jackson

Ms. Virginia Montes
5559 Marbut Rd.
Lithonia, GA 30058
At-Large
Hart

Ms. Lithangia S. Robinson
2880 Valley Heart Dr., N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30318
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Dianne Rogers
3225 Matador Ct., Apt. 3
East Point, GA 30344
Party or Elected Official
Hart

Mr. Walter Rountree
Route 1, Box 226
Twin City GA 30471
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Rita Samuels
State Committee
Suite 1808
215 Piedmont Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, GA 30308
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Hon. Calvin Smyre
State Representative
1600 Buena Vista Rd., #240
Columbus, GA 31906
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Rosetta Lee Soares
1752 Melrose Dr.
Atlanta, GA 30310
CD 6
Hart

Ms. Mable Thomas
765 Jones Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30314
CD 5
Jackson

Ms. Louise Thrower
946 S. McDonough St.
Decatur, GA 30030
At-Large
Hart

Ms. Elaine Tomlin
1385 Centra Villa Dr., S.W.
Atlanta, GA 30311
At-Large
Jackson

Ms. Dorothy I. Vaughn
1595 Pinehurst Dr., S.W.
Atlanta, GA 30311
At-Large
Hart

Hon. Arthur K. Williams
City Commissioner
Box 145
Albany, GA 31702
CD 2
Jackson

Hon. Hosea L. Williams
State Representative
8 East Lake Drive, S.E.
Atlanta, GA 30317
CD 5
Jackson

Hon. Mary Young
State Representative
423 Holloway Avenue
Albany, GA 31705
CD 2
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Ms. Ina Evans
1020 Bouldercrest Drive, SE
Atlanta, GA 30316
CD 5
Jackson

Mr. John Lewis
City Council Member
1520 Pinehurst Drive, S.W.
Atlanta, GA 30311
CD 5
Mondale

Mr. Bennie R. Mitchell
1805 Mill B Lane Boulevard
Savannah, GA 31405
CD 1
Jackson

Mr. Charles M. Sherrod
312 Tremont Avenue
Albany, GA 31701
CD 2
Mondale

Mr. Marshell Stenson, Jr.
8925 Thomaston Road
Macon, GA 31210
CD 8
Jackson

Ms. Ollie W. Tarver
329 Mays Avenue
Columbus, GA 31907
CD 3
Mondale

ILLINOIS

DELEGATES

Mr. Eugene Barnes
11222 S. Green Street
Chicago, IL 60643
CD 2
Washington

Mr. Willie Taplin Barrow
7736 S. Euclid Avenue
Chicago, IL 60649
CD 1
Washington

Mr. Timuel D. Black
4906 S. Drexel Blvd.
Chicago, IL 60613
CD 1
Washington

Ms. Carol Mosely Braun
5434 S. Hyde Park Blvd.
Chicago, IL 60637
Party or Elected Official
Washington

Mr. Roland W. Burris
State Comptroller
160 La Salle
Chicago, IL 60601
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Hon. Cardiss Collins
U.S. Representative
2264 Rayburn HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Barbara Flynn Currie
5650 S. Harper Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637
CD 1
Washington

Mr. Timothy Evans
5040 S. Ellis
Chicago, IL 60615
Party or Elected Official
Washington

Mr. Wilson Frost
10816 S. Parnell
Chicago, IL 60628
Party or Elected Official
Washington

Mr. William Garth
901 104th Street
Chicago, IL 60628
CD 2
Washington

Mr. James Harris
725 East 155th Court
Phoenix, IL 60426
CD 2
Washington

Hon. Charles Hayes
U.S. Representative
1631 Longworth HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Arnette Hubbard
7318 South Calumet Avenue
Chicago, IL 60619
CD 1
Washington

Ms. Joyce Hughes
Rules Committee Member
5201 S. Cornell Ave.
Chicago, IL 60615
At-large
Washington

Ms. Nancy Jefferson
2841 West Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, IL 60612
CD 7
Washington

Mr. Al Johnson
990 North Lake Shore Drive
Chicago, IL 60611
CD 7
Washington

Mr. Clyde Jordan
9008 Edouard Drive
East St. Louis, IL 62203
CD 21
Mondale

Ms. Mercedes Mallette
11741 South Laflin Street
Chicago, IL 60643
CD 2
Washington

Ms. Gwen Martin
219 N. Hickory Lane
Arlington Hts., IL 60004
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Ms. Dianne Meeks
2605 Kent Drive
Carbondale, IL 62901
CD 22
Hart

Mr. Charles Murray
109 Rice Street
Bellwood, IL 60104
CD 7
Washington

Mr. Richard H. Newhouse
5533 South Cornell Avenue
Chicago, IL 60637
CD 1
Washington

Hon. Cecil Partee
City Treasurer
State Central Committee Member
6032 South Michigan
Chicago, IL 60637
CD 1
Washington

Mr. James K. Polk
1614 West Butler
Peoria, IL 61605
CD 18
Mondale

Ms. Bonnie R. Rateree
147 West 150th Street
Harvey, IL 60426
CD 2
Washington

Ms. Yvonne Rice
DNC Member
2009 Randall Ct.
Springfield, IL 62703
Party or Elected Official
Unplegded

Ms. Bernice Robinson
1165 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60622
At-large
Washington

Hon. Gus Savage
U.S. Representative
1120 Longworth HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Eugene Sawyer
7366 South Martin Luther King Drive
Chicago, IL 60619
CD 1
Washington

Mr. Michael Scott
3636 West Douglas Blvd.
Chicago, IL 60623
CD 7
Washington

Mr. Johnny C. Smith
10545 South Union Avenue
Chicago, IL 60628
CD 2
Washington

Ms. Marion Stamps
1301 North Cleveland Avenue
Chicago, IL 60610
CD 7
Washington

Ms. Monica Faith Stewart
7956 South Elizabeth Street
Chicago, IL 60620
CD 2
Washington

Ms. Dorothy Tillman
4650 S. King Dr.
Chicago, IL 60653
At-large
Washington

Ms. Helen Colvin Wallace
Credentials Committee Member
1112 E. 48th Street
Chicago, IL 60615
At-large
Washington

Hon. Harold Washington
Mayor
City Hall Room 507
Chicago, IL 60602
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. E.R. Williams
3736 South Martin Luther King Drive
Chicago, IL 60653
CD 1
Washington

Mr. Joseph Young
8305 South Loomis Street
Chicago, IL 60620
CD 2
Washington

ALTERNATES

Ms. Joyce Arthur
1705 N. Long Avenue
Chicago, IL 60639
CD 8
Mondale

Ms. Brenda Bradley Bell
4329 W. Cullerton
Chicago, IL 60623
At-large
Washington

Mr. Frederick Darden, Sr.
10810 S. Sangamon Street
Chicago, IL 60643
CD 2
Washington

Mr. Percy Giles
4655 W. Madison Street
Chicago, IL 60644
CD 7
Washington

Ms. Constance A. Howard
432 E. 88th Street
Chicago, IL 60619
CD 1
Washington

Mr. Carlton J. Jones
2442 IL Avenue
East St. Louis, IL 62205
CD 21
Mondale

Mr. Robert T. Starks
1556 E. Park Shore E. Court
Chicago, IL 60637
CD 1
Washington

Ms. Bobbie L. Steele
2116 S. Springfield Avenue
Chicago, IL 60623
CD 7
Washington

Mr. James L. Wright
Region Four UAW
5132 W. Harrison
Chicago, IL 60644
At-large
Mondale

INDIANA

DELEGATES

Ms. Josephine Brooks
356 N. Lake Street
Gary, Indiana 46403
CD 1
Mondale

Ms. Phyllis A. Carr
3015 Sutherland Avenue
Indianapolis, IN 46205
CD 10
Jackson

Hon. Julia M. Carson
State Senator
2530 N. Park
Indianapolis, IN 46205
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Hon. William A. Crawford
State Representative
3048 E. Fall Creek Parkway
Indianpolis, IN 46205
CD 10
Jackson

Ms. Eleanor J. Gaines
531 W. Mulberry
Kokomo, IN 46901
CD 5
Hart

Hon. Katie Hall
U.S. Representative
Platform Committee Member
132 Cannon HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Hon. Richard G. Hatcher
Mayor
DNC Vice Chair
2208 Hayes St.
Gary, IN 46404
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Debra Ann Lampkins
10315 Starview Drive
Indiananolis, IN 46229
CD 10
Jackson

Mr. Damon P. Moore
1335 N. Tillotson Avenue
Muncie, IN 47304
At-Large
Mondale

Mr. Odell Newburn
110 N. Carlisle
South Bend, IN 46628
CD 3
Mondale

Dr. Benjamin A. Osborne
525 Udell Street
Indianapolis, IN 46208
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Claudia A. Polley
349 Park Avenue
Indianapolis, IN 46202
At-Large
Hart

Hon. Earline Rogers
State Representative
DNC Member
State Party Vice Chair
3636 W. 15th Avenue
Gary, IN 46404
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Barbara Leek Wesson
City Clerk
2040 Madison
Gary, IN 46407
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

ALTERNATES

Ms. Pat A. Browne
7158 - G Knobwood
Indianapolis, IN 46260
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Mae Dickinson
5455 N. Arlington Avenue
Indianapolis, IN 46226
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Sue W. Shively
1057 W. 34th Street
Indianapolis, IN 46208
At-large
Mondale

Mr. Joseph L. Smith
704 Berkley Road
Indianapolis, IN 46208
CD 10
Jackson

Ms. Jocelyn E. Tandy
405 E. Fall Creek Parkway South Drive
Indianapolis, IN 46205
At-large
Mondale

IOWA

DELEGATES

Ms. Ethelene A. Boyd-Owens
1305 W. Hayes Court
Davenport, IA 52804
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Joy C. Lowe
130 Webster St.
Waterloo, IA 50703
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Ms. Janice D. Lyle
1337 E. Oak Part Street
Des Moines, IA 50313
At-large
Hart

Dr. Fred W. Strickland
4910 Country Club
Des Moines, Iowa 50312
CD 4
Hart

KANSAS

DELEGATES

Ms. Minnie R. Anderson
1128 N. Grove
Wichita, KS 67214
CD 4
Mondale

Ms. Rosetta Dotson
509 E. Johnston
Olathe, KS 66061
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Ms. Beverly Hatcher
2860 N. Fountain
Wichita, KS 67220
At-large
Mondale

Hon. Norman Justice
State Representative
506 Washington Blvd.
KS City, KS 66101
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Dixie Love
420 E. Eight
Liberal, KS 67901
At-large
Hart

ALTERNATES

Mr. Homer Gaskin
1229 Wood
KS City, KS 66104
CD 3
Mondale

Mr. Clyde Townsend
Commissioner
612 Stewart
KS City, KS 66101
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

KENTUCKY

DELEGATES

Ms. Sarah Berry
473 W. Second St.
Lexington, KY 40508
CD 6
Jackson

Mr. Paul Gray
1463 S. 2nd Street, Apt. 1
Louisville, KY 40208
CD 3
Jackson

Ms. Cheri Bryant Hamilton
903 Southwestern Pkwy.
Louisville, KY 40211
CD 3
Jackson

Ms. Virginia Surratt
Route 7, Box 278A, Pullen Lane
Paducah, KY 42001
At-Large
Mondale

Mr. Reginald L. Thomas
119 Victory Ave.
Lexington, KY 40502
CD 6
Jackson

Mr. Aubrey Williams
800 S. 4th St., Apt. 1305
Louisville, KY 40203
CD 3
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Mr. Theodore Berry
473 W. Second Street
Lexington, KY 40508
CD 6
Jackson

LATIN AMERICA

ALTERNATES

Mr. Leroy Jackson
Box 28
FPO Miami, FL 34061
CD 1
Unpledged

LOUISIANA

DELEGATES

Hon. Avery Alexander
State Representative
2107 S. Claiborne Ave.
New Orleans, LA 70125
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Sylvia V. Armstrong
723 Riverside Dr.
Lake Providence, LA 71254
CD 5
Mondale

Hon. Diana E. Bojoie
State Representative
2303 Milan St.
New Orleans, LA 70115
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Melba D. Braud
State Central Committee
Member
Rt. 3. Box 625
Saint Martinville, LA 70582
CD 7
Jackson

Ms. Elsie Burkhalter
State Central Committee
Member
Box 1108
Slidell, LA 70459
CD 1
Mondale

Mr. Sherman Copelin, Jr.
2016 Delery St.
New Orleans, LA 70117
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Maxine Cormier
5228 Crestwood Dr.
Alexandria, LA 71301
CD 8
Jackson

Ms. Inez Fourcard
Box 2354
Lake Charles, LA 70602
CD 7
Mondale

Mr. John M. Guidry
1134 Pear St.
Baton Rouge, LA 70802
CD 6
Jackson

Hon. Melvin R. Irvin, Jr.
State Representative
2330 S. John Ave.
Gonzales, LA 70737
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Hon. Johnny Jackson, Jr.
State Representative
3772 Louisa St.
New Orleans, LA 70126
At-large
Jackson

Mr. Rinaldi E. Jacobs
Box 11797
Baton Rouge, LA 70813
CD 3
Jackson

Hon. Jon Johnson
State Representative
2223 Deslonde St.
New Orleans, LA 70117
CD 2
Jackson

Hon. Charles D. Jones
State Representative
709 Jackson St.
Monroe, LA 71201
CD 5
Jackson

Ms. Mary E. Jones
729 Peniston
New Orleans, LA 70115
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Deborah D. Morrison
5734 Trenton Ave.
Baton Rouge, LA 70808
CD 6
Jackson

Ms. June Phillips
1820 Jones-Mabry Rd.
Shreveport, LA 71107
CD 4
Jackson

Ms. Ola Mae Pinkney
Box Z
Clinton, LA 70126
At-large
Jackson

Mr. Ronny J. Ricard
State Central Committee
Member
2329 Orleans Ave.
New Orleans, LA 70119
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Mr. Press L. Robinson
Vice Chair, State Central
Committee
1301 Mayhaw Dr.
Baton Rouge, LA 70807
CD 8
Jackson

Ms. Jessie Smallwood
1922 Chestnut
Baton Rouge, LA 70115
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Evelyn Smith
Box 238
Saint Rose, LA 70087
CD 3
Jackson

Hon. Gregory Tarver
State Senator
1135 Pierre Ave.
Shreveport, LA 71103
CD 4
Jackson

Ms. Sibal S. Taylor
9551 Highpoint Rd.
Baton Rouge, LA 70810
CD 6
Mondale

Ms. Carrie L. Thomas
Box 1
Clinton, LA 70722
CD 8
Mondale

Hon. Richard Turnley
State Senator
2757 78th Ave.
Baton Rouge, LA 70807
CD 8
Jackson

Hon. Paul R. Valteau
Sheriff
400 Daniel St.
New Orleans, LA 70115
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Mary Wisham
State Executive Committee
Secretary
920 S. 18th St.
Baton Rouge, LA 70802
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Qumie Young
1111 Powell Ave.
Monroe, LA 71203
CD 5
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Ms. Yvonne August
1416 S. Prater St.
Lake Charles, LA 70601
At-large
Jackson

Mr. Derrick Delpit
2323 Iowa St.
Baton Rouge, LA 70802
CD 6
Jackson

Hon. Joseph A. Delpit
State Representative
725 Lettsworth St.
Baton Rouge, LA 70802
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Kim Gandy
5509 Coliseum
New Orleans, LA 70115
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Toni L. Hackett
7130 Thornley Dr.
New Orleans, LA 70126
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Barbara Hayes
General Delivery
Wilson, LA 70789
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Cathy Lewis-Jackson
1500 Lapalco Blvd., #161
Harvey, LA 70058
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Edith Lowe
1401 Erin St.
Monroe, LA 71202
CD 5
Jackson

Hon. Jewel J. Newman
State Representative
1036 Silverwood Dr.
Baton Rouge, LA 70807
CD 8
Jackson

Ms. Barbara D. Ricks
3508 Fifth St.
Metairie, LA 70002
CD 1
Mondale

Hon. James Singleton
State Representative
1532 Milan St.
Shreveport, LA 71102
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. John S. Smith
Box 238
Saint Rose, LA 70087
CD 3
Jackson

Mr. Joseph Stone
3699 Sachet Ave.
Baton Rouge, LA 70807
CD 6
Mondale

Ms. Alice Young
Box Y
Clinton, LA 70722
At-large
Jackson

MARYLAND

DELEGATES

Ms. Mary W. Conaway
3210 Liberty Hts. Ave.
Baltimore, MD 21215
CD 7
Jackson

Mr. Wayne K. Curry
11400 Earlston Dr.
Mitchellville, MD 20716
CD 5
Jackson

Ms. Irene Dandridge
12188 Mt. Albert Road
Ellicott City, MD 21043
At-Large
Mondale

Mr. Vernon Gray
Co. Council Member
4313 Oxbow Court
Ellicott City, MD 21043
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Ms. Vera P. Hall
State Central Committee
Member
4129 Forest Park Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21207
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Wendell H. Holloway
11805 Canfield Rd.
Potomac, MD 20854
CD 8
Mondale

Ms. Carolyn Howard
State Central Commitee
Member
3706 Baskerville Drive
Mitchellville, MD 20716
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Ms. Barbara A. Johnson
737 Cornish Drive
Cambridge, MD 21613
CD 1
Mondale

Ms. Pamela Johnson
5233 Hermit Path
Columbia, MD 21044
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Christine Miller Jones
3518 Everest Drive
Hillcrest Heights, MD 20748
CD 4
Mondale

Mr. Larry Little
2534 Edgecombe Circle N.
Baltimore, MD 21215
At-Large
Jackson

Mr. Kweisi Mfume
City Council Member
3403 N. Hilton Rd.
Baltimore, MD 21215
CD 7
Jackson

Ms. Juanita Mitchell
1324 Druid Hill Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21217
At-Large
Mondale

Hon. Parren J. Mitchell
U.S. Representative
2367 Rayburn HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Hilda R. Pemberton
City Council Member
7608 Swan Ter.
Landover, MD 20785
CD 5
Jackson

Hon. Wendell H. Phillips
State Delegate
3604 Edgewood Rd.
Baltimore, MD 21215
CD 7
Jackson

Ms. Brenda K. Pridgen
3717 Belle Ave., 2nd Flr.
Baltimore, MD 21215
CD 7
Jackson

Ms. Georgiann Scott
9912 Norwood Court
Upper Marlboro, MD 20772
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Sandra B. Stewart
900 Beaumont Ave.
Baltimore, MD 21212
CD 7
Jackson

Mr. Bennie Thayer
2105 Wimbleton Street
Upper Marlboro, MD 20772
At-Large
Jackson

Hon. Decatur W. Trotter
State Senator
3101 Polk Ct.
Glenarden, MD 20706
CD 5
Jackson

Mr. F. Bernard Watts
1233 E. Belvedere St.
Baltimore, MD 21239
CD 7
Jackson

Ms. Agnes Welch
Co. Council Member
2925 Mosher Street
Baltimore, MD 21216
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Mr. Floyd E. Wilson, Jr.
Chairman, City Council
1645 Cousins Dr. Box 1285
Glenarden, MD 20785
CD 5
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Mr. Clarence Burns
President, City Council
2630 Mura Street
Baltimore, MD 21213
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Lorretta Johnson
3207 Greenmead Road
Baltimore, MD 21207
CD 3
Mondale

Ms. Lois T. Nixon
2027 Hillenwood Road
Baltimore, MD 21239
CD 7
Jackson

Mr. Howard P. Rawlings
State Delegate
3502 Sequoia Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21215
CD 7
Jackson

Ms. Cora L. Rice
8910 91st Place
Lanham, MD 20706
CD 5
Jackson

Mr. Albert R. Wynn
State Delegate
221 Truman Drive, Apt. 31
Largo, MD 20772
CD 5
Jackson

MASSACHUSETTS

DELEGATES

Mr. Bruce Bolling
City Councillor
State Democratic Committee
Member
25 A Waban Street
Dorchester, MA 02121
At-large
Hart

Hon. Doris Bunte
State Representative
State Committee Member
161 Townsend Street
Dorchester, MA 02121
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Mark Andrew Carter
25 Claverly Hall
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA 02142
CD 8
McGovern

Hon. Raymond A. Jordan, Jr.
State Representative
State Committee Member
51 Goldenrod Street
Springfield, MA 01109
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Joseph Warren
State Democratic Committee
Member
102 Beaumont Avenue
Newton, MA 02160
At-large
Mondale

ALTERNATES

Ms. Laura Spencer
State Committee Member
618 Centre Street
Box 447
Carver, MA 02353
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. E. Henry Twiggs
74 Westminster Street
Springfield, MA 01109
At-large
Hart

MICHIGAN

DELEGATES

Hon. Richard H. Austin
Secretary of State
Treasury Building First Floor
Lansing, MI 48918
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Robert Battle, III
16125 Linwood
Detroit, MI 48221
CD 1
Mondale

Ms. Odean V. Bradley
5780 North Hartel Road
Pottersville, MI 48826
CD 3
Mondale

Ms. Kathryn A. Bryant
8616 Kentucky
Detroit, MI 48204
CD 1
Mondale

Mr. Clyde Cleveland
9379 Pinehurst
Detroit, MI 48204
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Gloria C. Cobbin
5182 South Martindale
Detroit, MI 48204
CD 13
Mondale

Hon. John Conyers, Jr.
U.S. Representative
2313 Rayburn HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Hon. George W. Crockett, Jr.
U.S. Representative
1531 Longworth HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Sheila Davis
5112 W. Outer Drive
Detroit, MI 48235
At-large
Hart

Ms. Elsie Dwight
10043 Holmur
Detroit, MI 48204
CD 13
Jackson

Mr. Fulton B. Eaglin
620 Collegewood
Ypsilanti, MI 48197
At-large
Hart

Mr. Lawrence Elliott
15800 Hubbell, Apt. 101
Detroit, MI 48227
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Arrissie D. Evans
15700 Providence Drive
Apartment 313
Southfield, MI 48075
CD 17
Mondale

Mr. Joel Ferguson
3412 Sandhurst
Lansing, MI 48910
CD 3
Jackson

Mr. Willie B. Gilbert
6218 Avery
Detroit, MI 48208
CD 13
Mondale

Mr. James Glass
9047 Northlawn
Detroit, MI 48204
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Vera V. Griffith
1470 West Grand Blvd.
Detroit, MI 48208
CD 13
Mondale

Mr. Roscoe Gunter
1520 Livernois
Detroit, MI 48209
CD 13
Jackson

Ms. Shirley Robinson Hall
DNC Member
19360 Renfren St.
Detroit, MI 48221
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Mr. Dennis V. Hicks
501 North Adams
Bay City, MI 48706
CD 8
Hart

Mr. Hubert Holley
State Party Second Vice Chair
4084 Glendale
Detroit, MI 48238
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Ethel M. Howard
1156 Studebaker
Ypsilanti, MI 48197
CD 15
Mondale

Mr. William Humphreys
935 Drexel
Twin Lake, Mi 49457
CD 9
Mondale

Ms. Elizabeth Jackson
17420 Pontchtrain
Detroit, MI 48203
CD 1
Mondale

Ms. Mildred A. Jenkins
18704 Fenelon
Detroit, MI 48234
CD 14
Mondale

Ms. Carolyn C. Kilpatrick
State Capitol Building
Lansing, MI 48909
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Mildred Kyles
20121 Orleans
Detroit, MI 48203
CD 1
Jackson

Mr. Ernest Lofton
20018 Lauder
Detroit, MI 48235
CD 1
Mondale

Mr. W. Paul Mahue
950 Dunham, S.E.
Grand Rapids, MI 49507
CD 5
Jackson

Mr. Talibdeen Abdul Muqsit
5515 Detroit St., Apt. 410
Flint, MI 48505
CD 7
Jackson

Ms. Lorraine C. McGee
145 E. Eldridge Avenue
Flint, MI 48505
CD 7
Mondale

Mr. Lorenzo A. Moner, Jr.
27215 Colgate Avenue
Inkster, MI 48141
CD 17
Mondale

Mr. Robert G. Newby
62 East Iroquois Road
Pontiac, MI 48053
CD 6
Jackson

Mr. Michael D. Patterson
1455 Prest
Detroit MI 48227
At-large
Hart

Mr. Herman L. Samuel
5847 Belvidere
Detroit, MI 48213
CD 13
Mondale

Ms. Bernice Shields
19941 Briarcliff
Detroit, MI 48221
CD 1
Mondale

Mr. Marc Stepp
DNC Member
17160 Faust Road
Detroit, MI 48219
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Mr. James E. Wadsworth, Jr.
1551 Chateau Fort Place
Detroit, MI 48207
CD 13
Mondale

Ms. Juanita Watkins
1971 Elmswood Park Dr. #204
Detroit, MI 48207
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Beatrice Williams
DNC Member
204 W. McClellan
Flint, MI 48505
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Hon. Coleman A. Young
Mayor of Detroit
9240 Dwight
Detroit, MI 48214
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

ALTERNATES

Hon. Lawrence Crawford
Mayor
City Hall
315 S. Washington
Saginaw, MI 48601
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Hildred J. Drew
18034 Indian
Detroit, MI 48221
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Grace Hampton
27135 Yale
Inkster, MI 48141
CD 17
Mondale

Ms. Gwendolyn Z. Hankins
4831 Fullerton
Detroit, MI 48238
At-large
Hart

Mr. Cottrell Johnson
1190 Seward #416
Detroit, MI 48202
CD 13
Jackson

Ms. Stevetta Johnson
148 24 Washburn
Detroit, MI 48238
At-large
Mondale

Mr. Nabil Leach
19351 Burgess
Detroit, MI 48219
CD 17
Hart

Ms. Lucy Morrissey Northrup
2549 Thomas St.
Flint, MI 48504
CD 7
Mondale

Ms. Mary Lou Parks
11744 Wade
Detroit, MI 48213
CD 13
Mondale

Ms. Annette Rainwater
3776 Leslie
Detroit, MI 48238
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Virgie M. Rollins
15452 Ardmore
Detroit, MI 48227
CD 1
Mondale

Hon. James A. Sharp, Jr.
Mayor
2410 Hills
Flint, MI 48503
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Nathaniel Smith
7334 Burnette
Detroit, MI 48210
CD 1
Mondale

MINNESOTA

DELEGATES

Hon. Sharon Sayles Belton
City Council Member
3848 Oakland Ave., S.
Minneapolis, MN 55407
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Maurice Britts
4819 Lakeview N.
Minneapolis, MN 55429
CD 5
Unpledged

Mr. Henry L. Martin
1747 Rust Rd.
Worthington, MN 56187
At-Large
Mondale

Mr. Robert Murray
2164 N. Rosewood
Roseville, MN 55113
CD 4
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Mr. Curtis Herron
4745 Clinton Ave.
Minneapolis, MN 55409
CD 5
Uncommitted

Ms. Wanda McKenzie
2501 Fourth Avenue, N.
Minneapolis, MN 55411
CD 5
Uncommited

Ms. Bea Underwood
1704 Lyn Curve
Minneapolis, MN 55411
CD 5
Mondale

MISSISSIPPI

DELEGATES

Ms. Margaret Walker Alexander
2205 Margaret Walker Alexander Dr.
Jackson, MS 39213
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Susan Barnes
370 Ginger Drive
Biloxi, MS 39532
CD 5
Uncommitted

Mr. Bill Carter
6041 Huntview Drive
Jackson, MS 39206
CD 4
Mondale

Ms. Lottie Catholic
Executive Committee Member Washington County
608 East O'Hea Street
Greenville, MS 38701
CD 2
Mondale

Mr. Alvin O. Chambliss, Jr.
Box 928
Oxford, MS 38655
CD 1
Jackson

Hon. Isiah Fredricks
State Representative
3500 Meadowlark Dr.
Gulfport, MS 39501
CD 5
Jackson

Ms. Alice Harden
2930 Oakmont
Jackson, MS 39209
At-large
Mondale

Mr. Sylvester Harris
State Executive Committee Member
Route 2, Box 269
West Point, MS 39773
CD 3
Jackson

Hon. Henry J. Kirksey
State Senator
930 Arbor Vista Blvd.
Jackson, MS 39209
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Hon. Violet Leggette
Mayor
Box 191
Gunnison, MS 38746
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Leslie B. McLemore
Executive Committee Member Hinds County
746 Winward Road
Jackson, MS 39206
CD 4
Jackson

Mr. Victor McTeer
Executive Committee Member Washington County
Box 1835
Greenville, MS 38701
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Janette L. Self
Secretary of Oktibbeha County Executive Comm.
107 Frontier St.
Starksville, MS 39759
At-large
Jackson

Hon. Percy Watson
State Representative
Box 1767
Hattiesburg, MS 39401
Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Glozeddie Williamson
Route 1, Box 85
Louin, MS 39338
CD 3
Mondale

Ms. Rosie Wilson
Route 1, Box 220A
Crosby, MS 39633
CD 4
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Ms. Minnie Armstrong
State Executive Committee
Treasurer
Rt. 6, Box 255 AA
Tupelo, MS 38801
CD 1
Mondale

Ms. Addie L. Green
Box 429
Bolton, MS 39041
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Joyce J. Johnson
Executive Committee Member
Adams County
Rt. 6, Box 548
Natchez, MS 39120
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Birta T. Jones
1816 Spruce St.
Greenville, MS 38701
CD 2
Mondale

Ms. Martha Rice
331 Queen Julianna
Jackson, MS 39209
CD 4
Mondale

Hon. Barney Schoby
State Representative
115 Florida Drive
Natchez, MS 39120
CD 4
Jackson

Hon. Johnny B. Thomas
Mayor
Box 51
Glendora, MS 38928
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Johnnie E. Walls, Jr.
Executive Committee Member
Washington County
208 Orlardo
Greenville, MS 38701
CD 2
Jackson

MISSOURI

DELEGATES

Hon. J. B. Banks
State Senator
1442a N. Grand
St. Louis, MO 63106
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Mr. Lucius Barker
142 Lighthorse Dr.
Chesterfield, MO 63017
CD 2
Jackson

Hon. John Bass
State Senator
4936 Maffitt
St. Louis, MO 63115
At-large
Uncommittee

Mr. Billie Boykins
State Committee Member
1436 N. 16th St.
St. Louis, MO 63106
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Hon. William Clay
U.S. Representative
2470 Rayburn HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Lloyd Daniels
4437 Benton Blvd.
KS City, MO 64130
CD 5
Jackson

Ms. Nellie Ellis
302 W. Liberty
Kennett, MO 63857
At-large
Uncommitted

Ms. Pat Jones
5907 Rockhill Rd.
KS City, MO 64110
CD 5
Mondale

Ms. Patricia Maltbia
1001 First Street
New Madrid, MO 63689
CD 8
Mondale

Mr. Willie L. McCann
5217 Elmwood
KS City, MO 64130
CD 5
Jackson

Ms. Jacqueline McGee
5829 E. 40th Terr.
KS City, MO 64129
CD 5
Jackson

Hon. Alan Wheat
U.S.Representative
1609 Longworth HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

ALTERNATES

Ms. Mary Bland
6135 Indiana
Kansas City, MO 64130
CD 5
Jackson

Ms. Karen French
2958 E. 30th St.
Kansas City, MO 64128
At-large
Uncommitted

NEBRASKA

DELEGATES

Mr. Fred Conley
City Council Member
3354 N. 37th Street
Omaha, NE 68111
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Eva Lois Haywood
11664 Burt Street L-9
Omaha, NE 68154
CD 2
Hart

NEVADA

DELEGATES

Hon. Joe Neal
State Senator
304 Lance Avenue
North Las Vegas, NV 89030
Party or Elected Official
Hart

ALTERNATES

Mr. David L. Phillips
1100 Virginia City Ave.
Las Vegas, NV 89106
CD 1
Mondale

NEW HAMPSHIRE

DELEGATES

Ms. Juanita Bell
26 Taft Road
Portsmouth, NH 03801
CD 1
Mondale

NEW JERSEY

DELEGATES

Ms. Brenda Bacon
Seven N. Branch Ct.
Cherryhill, NJ 08002
D 3
Mondale

Mr. Fred Bost
110 Eastern Pkwy.
Irvington, NJ 07111
D 13
Jackson

Ms. Inez Chaney
31 E. Linden Ave.
Englewood, NJ 07631
D 17
Mondale

Ms. Virginia L. Feggins
240 W. State St., Ste. 1527
Trenton, NJ 08608
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Geraldine R. Fudge
Box 34
Somerset, NJ 08873
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Mildred Barry Garvin
55 North St.
East Orange, NJ 07017
D 18
Jackson

Hon. Kenneth A. Gibson
Mayor
920 Broad St., Rm. 200
Newark, NJ 07102
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Carole A. Graves
40 Goldsmith Ave.
Newark, NJ 07112
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Carolyn J. Holmes
3442 Hance Bridge Rd.
Vineland, NJ 08360
D 1
Mondale

Ms. Hope Jackson
182 Mapes Ave.
Newark, NJ 07112
D 13
Jackson

Mr. Robert D. Jackson
35 Virginia Ave.
Montclair, NJ 07042
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Ruby J. Jones
375F Montgomery St.
Jersey City, NJ 07302
D 16
Mondale

Mr. Lawrence M. Lawson
734 Mattison Ave.
Asbury Park, NJ 07712
D 6
Mondale

Ms. Rita R. Mason
145 Brewster St.
Browns Mills, NJ 08015
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Geraldine N. Moon
Box 29, Cedar Brook Rd.
Cedar Brook, NJ 08018
D 2
Mondale

Ms. Joyce A. Morgan
715 High St.
Newark, NJ 07103
D 13
Jackson

Mr. Melvin R. Primas
400 Chambers Ave.
Camden, NJ 08103
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Mr. Jeffrey E. Ramsey
185 Eastbrook La.
Willingboro, NJ 08046
D 4
Mondale

Mr. Henry Stevens
2914 Berkley St.
Camden, NJ 08105
D 3
Mondale

Mr. Issac Thomas, Jr.
14 Eastern Pkwy.
Newark, NJ 07106
D 13
Jackson

Ms. Shirley K. Turner
125 Law Penn Rd.
Lawrenceville, NJ 08648
D 8
Mondale

ALTERNATES

Ms. Claire Garner
206 N. Harrison Ave.
Edgewater Park, NJ 08010
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Laverne R. Grady
1110 Summit Ave.
Teaneck, NJ 07666
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Elois Jones
Box 652
243 S. Harrison St.
East Orange, NJ 07019
At-large
Mondale

Mr. William Kersey
289 Mt. Hope Ave., Apt. A-23
Dover, NJ 07801
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Gerri Roberts
434 N. Arlington Ave.
East Orange, NJ 07107
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Shirley Rutherford
61 Hillside Ave.
Newark, NJ 07108
D 13
Jackson

NEW MEXICO

ALTERNATES

Mr. George H. Anderson
5415 9th St., N.W.
Albuquerque, NM 87107
At-Large
Mondale

NEW YORK

DELEGATES

Ms. Elaine Allman
109-55 177th Street
Jamaica, NY 11433
CD 6
Jackson

Ms. Elois T. Banks
222 W. 138th Street
New York, NY 10030
CD 16
Mondale

Mr. Elmer H. Blackburne
179-64 Anderson Road
Saint Albans, NY 11434
CD 6
Jackson

Ms. Mildred A. Bowman
1820 E. River
Grand Island, NY 14072
At-large
Mondale

Mr. Roscoe Brown, Jr.
20 Commerace Street
New York, NY 10014
CD 18
Jackson

Ms. Joan M. Bryan
114-78 175th Place
Jamaica, NY 11434
CD 6
Jackson

Mr. Vernal G. Cave
1345 President St.
Brooklyn, NY 11213
At-large
Jackson

Hon. Geraldine L. Daniels
State Assembly Member
45 W. 132nd St.
New York, NY 10037
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Hon. Gloria Davis
State Assembly Member
2111 Southern Boulevard
Bronx, NY 10459
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Ms. Katie Davis
185 Hall St. Apt. 812
Brooklyn, NY 11205
CD 11
Jackson

Mr. David N. Dinkins
City Clerk
157-10 Riverside Dr.
New York, NY 10032
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Ms. Hazel N. Dukes
300 Edwards Street
Roslyn Heights, NY 11577
CD 3
Mondale

Hon. Arthur O. Eve
State Assembly Member
1373 Fillmore Ave.
Buffalo, NY 14211
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Hon. Herman D. Farrell, Jr.
State Assembly Member
159-00 Riverside Dr. West
New York, NY 10034
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Floyd Flake
130-46 Laurelton Pkwy.
Rosedale, NY 11422
CD 6
Jackson

Mr. Thomas Wendell Foster
1225 Woodycrest Ave.
Bronx, NY 10452
At-large
Jackson

Mr. Anthony Gantt
448 Central Park W.
New York, NY 10025
CD 16
Jackson

Hon. David E. Gantt
State Assembly Member
275 Lyndhurst St.
Rochester, NY 14603
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Harriet N. Gibbons
22 W. Erie Street
Albany, NY 12208
CD 23
Mondale

Ms. Aurelia Greene
1248 Teller Avenue
Bronx, NY 10456
CD 18
Mondale

Mr. Jesse E. Hamilton
930 Grand Concourse
Bronx, NY 10451
CD 18
Jackson

Ms. Earlene A. Harris
264 Decatur Street
Brooklyn, NY 11233
CD 12
Jackson

Mr. Andrew Jenkins
174-10 Adelaide Road
St. Albans, NY 11412
CD 6
Mondale

Ms. Bessie Jenkins
760 Eldert Lane #13U
Brooklyn, NY 11208
CD 11
Jackson

Hon. Cynthia Jenkins
State Assembly Member
Credentials Committee Member
Jamaica, NY 11434
Party or Elected Official
Hart

Mr. James Lloyd
58 Roslyn St.
Rochester, NY 14619
At-large
Jackson

Mr. William Lynch, Jr.
45 W. 132 St.
New York, NY 10037
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Deborah D. Major
112 Chapel Woods
Amherst, NY 14221
At-large
Hart

Hon. Helen M. Marshall
State Assembly Member
103-02 27th Ave.
East Elmhurst, NY 11369
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Ms. Hope Mason
392 Central Park W.
New York, NY 10025
CD 16
Jackson

Ms. Marcella Maxwell
35 Prospect Park W.
Brooklyn, NY 11215
At-large
Mondale

Mr. Joseph Merritt
1000 E. Ferry St.
Buffalo, NY 14211
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Esther Mitchell
Four W. 101st St.
New York, NY 10030
CD 16
Jackson

Mr. Timothy P. Mitchell
62-27 108th St.
Forest Hills, NY 11375
At-large
Jackson

Hon. Major R. Owens
U.S. Representative
114 Cannon HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Hon. Charles B. Rangel
U.S. Representative
2330 Rayburn HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Rener H. Reed
931 Woodfield Road
West Hempstead, NY 11552
CD 5
Mondale

Ms. Joanne M. Robinson
278 Warburton Ave.
Yonkers, NY 10701
CD 20
Jackson

Ms. Amota R. Sias
630 Stanley Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11207
CD 12
Jackson

Mr. Bennett W. Smith
105 Humboldt Pkwy.
Buffalo, NY 14214
CD 33
Jackson

Mr. Frank Solomon
376 St. John's Pl.
Brooklyn, NY 11238
CD 12
Jackson

Mr. Percy E. Sutton
10 W. 135th Street
New York, NY 10037
CD 16
Jackson

Ms. Marietta J. Tanner
1825 Anthony Ave.
Bronx, NY 10457
CD 18
Jackson

Ms. Sandra R. Temple
County Committee Member
Eight Dove St.
Albany, NY 12210
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Hon. Edolphus Towns
U.S. Representative
1009 Longworth HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Hon. Albert Vann
State Assembly Member
Rules Committee Member
362 McDonough St.
Brooklyn, NY 11233
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Mr. Alton R. Waldon, Jr.
115-103 222nd St.
Cambria Heights, NY 11411
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Juanita E. Watkins
139-41 225th St.
Laurelton, NY 11413
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Sharlene T. White
102 Manhattan Ave.
Buffalo, NY 14215
CD 33
Jackson

Mr. Thomas White, Jr.
163-19 130th Ave.
Jamaica, NY 11434
CD 6
Jackson

Mr. Talley Williams
1059 Union Street
Brooklyn, NY 11225
CD 12
Jackson

Mr. Paul Wooten
214 Jefferson Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11216
CD 11
Jackson

Hon. Priscilla A. Wooten
City Council Member
760 Eldert Lane
Brooklyn, NY 11208
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Ms. Maxine C. Brown
43 Marsh St.
Rochester, NY 14619
CD 30
Mondale

Ms. Phylius A. Burks
644 Park Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11206
CD 11
Jackson

Ms. Bobbye Butts
1380 Union St.
Brooklyn, NY 11213
CD 12
Jackson

Mr. Calvin O. Butts, III
121 W. 179th St.
Bronx, NY 10453
At-large
Jackson

Mr. Leslie Robert Campbell
83 Lefferts Place
Brooklyn, NY 11238
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Hazel Coads
393 Rose Ave.
West Hempstead, NY 11552
CD 5
Mondale

Hon. Joseph L. Galiber
State Senator
800 Concourse Village W.
Bronx, NY 10451
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Arthur B. Hill, Sr.
187-10 Ilion Ave.
Hollis, NY 11412
CD 6
Jackson

Mr. Gwendolyn B. Lynch
Five Elmwood Ave.
Elmsford, NY 10523
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Minnie Moore
277 W. 127th St.
New York, NY 10027
CD 16
Jackson

Ms. Shirley Nadeine Moore
133-27 Inwood St.
South Ozone Park, NY 11436
CD 6
Jackson

Ms. Vivian R. Patterson
158 Washington Park
Brooklyn, NY 11205
At-large
Mondale

Mr. Van B. Robinson
311 Parway Drive
Syracuse, NY 13207
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Lucille Rose
212 McDonough St.
Brooklyn, NY 11216
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Archie Spigner
102-51 183 Place
Hollis, NY 11423
At-large
Jackson

Mr. Steve Stancil
260 Lenox Road
Brooklyn, NY 11226
CD 12
Jackson

Ms. Dorothy Toye
116 Lockman Ave.
Staten Island, NY 10303
At-large
Jackson

Mr. Dennis Cornell Williams
104 Third St.
Newburgh, NY 12550
At-large
Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA

DELEGATES

Dr. E. LaVonia Allison
1315 McLaurin Ave.
Durham, NC 27707
At-large
Jackson

Mr. James E. Andrews
Box 10805
Raleigh, NC 27605
CD 2
Mondale

Ms. Almetta Armstrong
Rt. 2, Box 128
Candor, NC 27229
At-large
Mondale

Mr. G. K. Butterfield
1001 W. Vance St.
Wilson, NC 27893
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Bea Colson
Box 203
Wingate, NC 28174
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Frances M. Cummings
1708 Maryland St.
Lumberton, NC 28358
CD 7
Mondale

Mr. Bob Drakeford
Drawer 25151
Durham, NC 27702
At-large
Hart

Ms. Anne Gaines-Swygert
Box 21994
Greensboro, NC 27420
At-large
Jackson

Hon. Harvey Gantt
Mayor
City Hall
600 E. Trade St.
Charlotte, NC 28202
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Peter Grear
Box 2279
Wilmington, NC 28402
At-large
Jackson

Mr. Aronul E. Harris
1815 Gola Dr.
Fayetteville, NC 28301
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Cathy C. Hughes
Rt. 4, 9120 Steelberry W.
Charlotte, NC 28208
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Ms. Ruby W. Jones
President
State Democratic Women
1912 Carlton Ave.
Greensboro, NC 27406
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Hon. Annie Brown Kennedy
State Representative
3727 Spaulding Dr.
Winston-Salem, NC 27105
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Bruce Lightner
1105 Cross Link Rd.
Raleigh, NC 27610
CD 4
Jackson

Mr. Clarence E. Lightner
717 Delaney Dr.
Raleigh, NC 27610
arty or Elected Official
Mondale

Ms. Jeannie H. Lucas
3608 Glenn Rd.
Durham, NC 27704
CD 2
Jackson

Mr. Walter Marshall
3246 Kittering La.
Winston-Salem, NC 27105
CD 5
Jackson

Ms. Everline Mitchell
Rt. 1, Box 96
Dover, NC 28526
CD 1
Jackson

Mr. James Mitchell, Sr.
Rt. 1, Box 47
Council, NC 28434
CD 3
Mondale

Ms. Earline Parmon
Box 4446
Winston-Salem, NC 27105
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Ms. Allene B. Poe
Box 185
East Spencer, NC 28039
CD 8
Mondale

Ms. Brenda D. Ray
3019-J Cottage Pl.
Greensboro, NC 27405
CD 6
Jackson

Mr. Willie E. Sloan
Rt. 2, Box 496-AA
Leland, NC 28451
CD 7
Mondale

Mr. Bennett M. Taylor
Box 2
Seaboard, NC 27876
CD 1
Mondale

Hon. Robert L. Walton
County Commissioner
1454 Plumstead Rd.
Charlotte, NC 28216
CD 9
Jackson

Hon. E. V. Wilkins
Mayor
Box 357
Roper, NC 27970
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

ALTERNATES

Ms. Norma Jean Campbell
Rt. 2, Box 209
Raeford, NC 28376
CD 8
Mondale

Dr. Mildred Baxter Davis
916 Westbrook Dr.
Charlotte, NC 28202
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Don Ensley
3002 Ellsworth
Greenville, NC 27834
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Gladys Graves
505-A Spicewood Dr.
Greensboro, NC 27405
At-large
Mondale

Mr. Anthony D. Hines, Sr.
316 Dogwood St.
Smithfield, NC 27577
At-large
Jackson

Mr. Billy R. King
5702 Shenandora Dr.
Fayetteville, NC 28304
CD 7
Mondale

Ms. Lucille Mungo Lynch
609 Baldwin Ave.
Charlotte, NC 28204
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Louise Sewell
Box 15
Smithfield, NC 27577
CD 3
Mondale

Mr. Preston Lee Thomas
Rt. 2, Box 491
Morganton, NC 28655
CD 10
Mondale

Mr. Carlton J. Whidby
311 S. LaSalle St., 16-D
Durham, NC 27705
CD 2
Jackson

OHIO

DELEGATES

Ms. Thelma Adams
433 University Avenue
Elyria, OH 44035
CD 13
Mondale

Mr. George W. Banks
1846 Kennedy Drive
Wickliffe, OH 44092
CD 19
Mondale

Mr. Reuel Barksdale
1490 Felix Drive
Columbus, OH 43207
CD 15
Hart

Ms. Anna E. Biggins
920 Florida Avenue
McDonald, OH 44437
CD 17
Mondale

Ms. Barbara Boyd
3418 Washington
Cleveland Heights, OH 44118
CD 21
Mondale

Mr. John Edward Cager, III
332 Hepburn Hall
Miami University
Oxford, OH 45056
CD 8
Hart

Mr. Charles W. Cross
19715 Gladstone Road
Warrensville Hgts. OH 44122
CD 21
Jackson

Mr. Winfred Fails
1001 Brookley Blvd.
Toledo, OH 43607
Cd 9
Mondale

Ms. Kathy Fisher
408 East Mulberry
Lancaster, OH 43140
CD 10
Hart

Ms. Frankie Eleanor Glover
827 Chesbrough Street
Toledo, OH 43605
CD 9
Mondale

Hon. Melvin J. Gravely
City Council Member
420 Rice Avenue, N.E.
Canton, OH 44704
Party or Elected Official
Hart

Ms. Glenda Gunn
501 Noah Avenue
Akron, OH 44320
CD 14
Mondale

Ms. Phyllis D. Hart
1091 Ellsworth Avenue
Columbus, OH 43206
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Ms. Linda L. Hinton
819 Wager Street
Columbus, OH 43206
CD 15
Mondale

Ms. Faith Johnson
4505 College View Drive
Dayton, OH 45427
CD 3
Jackson

Ms. Beverly O. McCoy
1129 West Market Street
Lima, OH 45805
CD 4
Mondale

Mr. C.J. McLin
DNC Member
1130 Germantown Road
Dayton, OH 45408
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Brenda Parks
3547 Alaska
Cincinnati, OH 45229
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Betty Pinkney
14506 South Park Blvd.
Shaker Heights, OH 44120
CD 21
Jackson

Ms. Carolyn J. Prentiss
813 East Blvd.
Cleveland, OH 44108
CD 21
Jackson

Mr. Charles O. Ross
2710 Cassady
Columbus, OH 43219
CD 12
Jackson

Ms. Shirley Ann Rosser
7926 Greenland Pl
Cincinnati, OH 45237
CD 1
Jackson

Mr. W. Lee Russell
4642 Northtowne Blvd., #D
Columbus, OH 43229
At-large
Hart

Ms. Francine D. Sherman
36 Burton Woods Lane
Cincinnati, OH 45229
CD 2
Jackson

Mr. Henry Simon
15003 Ohio Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44128
CD 21
Mondale

Ms. Vermell Smith
2553 Richmond Rd.
Beachwood, OH 44122
CD 19
Mondale

Ms. Marian Spencer
940 Lexington Ave.
Cincinnati, OH 45229
CD 2
Mondale

Hon. Louis Stokes
U.S. Representative
2304 Rayburn HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Stanley E. Tolliver, Sr.
11104 Wade Park Ave.
Cleveland, OH 44106
CD 21
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Ms. Patricia Ackerman
4421 Grenada Blvd., #117
Warrensville Heights, OH 44128
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Harriet A. Chapman Arnold
295 N. Prospect St.
Oberlin, OH 44074
CD 13
Mondale

Mr. Walter Burks,Jr.
County Executive Committee Member
3964 E. 147th St.
Cleveland, OH 44128
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Ryan James Douglas
429 Douglas St.
Akron, OH 44307
CD 14
Hart

Ms. Kathy Fisher
408 E. Mulberry St.
Lancaster, OH 43140
At-large
Hart

Mr. Jerry Hammond
President, City Council
380 S. Fifth St., Apt. 213
Columbus, OH 43215
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Ruby Harris
County Executive Committee Member
Box 514
Washington Courthouse, OH 43160
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Thaddeus J. Jackson
25256 Buckthorn Rd.
Bedford Heights, OH 44014
CD 21
Jackson

Mr. George Johnson, Jr.
1940 Benson Dr.
Dayton, OH 45406
CD 3
Hart

Ms. Leslie C. Johnson
26 Sycamore St.
Youngstown, OH 44505
CD 17
Mondale

Ms. Bessie M. Lewis
978 Sunbury Rd.
Columbus, OH 43219
At-large
Hart

Hon. Ike Thompson
State Representative
899 E. 128th St.
Cleveland, OH 44108
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Dorothy R. Willis
11431 Carolina Rd.
Cleveland, OH 44108
CD 21
Mondale

Ms. Yvonne M. Woods
644 Easter Ave.
Akron, OH 44307
CD 14
Mondale

OKLAHOMA

DELEGATES

Hon. Shirley Darrell
County Commissioner
3624 North Jordan
Oklahoma City, OK 73111
Unpledged

Ms. Pamela Freeman
4701 Woodland Park Terrace
Spencer, OK 73084
At-large
Hart

Ms. Edith M. Jones
7901 Duane Drive
OK City, OK 73132
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Maxine McFall
Route 6
Box 160AA
Ada, OK 74820
At-large
Hart

Hon. Freddye Williams
State Representative
1145 North Page
OK City, OK 73117
At-large
Mondale

ALTERNATES

Mr. Don Allen
3020 Coltrane Dr.
Oklahoma City, OK 73121
CD 6
Hart

Ms. LaRonda Harris
302 NE 60th
Oklahoma City, OK 73105
At-large
Hart

Mr. Robert Marshall
418 E. 40th St., N.
Tulsa, OK 74106
At-large
Mondale

OREGON

DELEGATES

Ms. Suzette Carol Allen
523 NE Bryant Street
Portland, OR 97211
CD 3
Hart

Ms. Johnnie Bell
3415 NE 34th
Portland, OR 97212
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Ron Herndon
2523 NE 10th Avenue
Portland, OR 97212
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

ALTERNATES

Mr. Calvin Henry
7395 NW Hoodview Circle
Corvallis, OR 97330
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

PENNSYLVANIA

DELEGATES

Mr. Herbert Arlene
1942 W. Jefferson St.
Philadelphia, PA 19121
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Ms. Dorthea Bell
Box 16718
Philadelphia, PA 19139
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Sharon Bembry
1719 N. 55th St.
Philadelphia, PA 19131
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Jamie Blackwell
235 S. Melville St. Philadelphia,
PA 19151
At-Large
Mondale

Mr. Charles Bowser
50011 Overbrook
hiladelphia, PA 19131
CD 2
Jackson

Mr. Joe Coleman
City Hall, Rm. 494
Philadelphia, PA 19107
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Ms. Bernice Draughn
8226 Forest Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19150
CD 2
Jackson

Mr. Sam Evans
Allmon Bldg., Ste. 805
136 S. 17th St.
Philadelphia, PA 19103
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Carolyn Franklin
1151 Brintell St.
Pittsburgh, PA 15201
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Hon. Wilson Goode
Mayor
City Hall
Philadelphia, PA 17101
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Hon. William (Bill) Gray III
U.S. Representative
204 Cannon HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party & Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Frances Hairston
2014 Carpenter St.
Philadelphia, PA 19146
CD 1
Jackson

Mr. David Henry
6103 N. 17th St.
Philadelphia, PA 19141
CD 1
Jackson

Hon. K. Leroy Irvis
State Representative
Main Capitol Bldg., Rm. 171
Harrisburg, PA 17120
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Davida Jacob
1205 S. 4th St.
Philadelphia, PA 19147
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Cynthia Jefferson
1425 N. Alden
Philadelphia, PA 19131
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Rita Wilson Kane
1009 Fidelity Dr.
Pittsburgh, PA 15236
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Virginia Kelly
4705 5th Ave.
Pittsburgh, PA 15213
D 14
Mondale

Ms. Leslie Kernodle
3733 N. 16th St.
Philadelphia, PA 19151
At-Large
Mondale

Mr. Wilber Lockett
Box 32035
2038 Carpenter St.
Philadelphia, PA
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Thelma Lovett
2937 Webster Ave.
Pittsburgh, PA 15219
CD 14
Mondale

Mr. Leon Lynch
Five Gateway Ctr.
Pittsburgh, PA 15222
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Mary Mason
3930 Conshosocken
Philadelphia, PA 19130
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Carolyn Mitchell
5115 W. Nevada St.
Philadelphia, PA 19131
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Anna Price
1037 McClay St.
Harrisburg, PA 17103
At-Large
Mondale

Mr. Wayman Ray
2403 Gulf Road
Philadelphia, PA 19131
CD 2
Uncommitted

Mr. Henry Reddy
747 N. Uber St.
Philadelphia, PA 19130
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Blondell Reynolds
601 N. 33rd St.
Philadelphia, PA 19104
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Evelyn Richardson
6908 Tadron St.
Pittsburgh, PA 15208
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Doris Smith
5050 Overbrook Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19131
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Mattie Stone
7305 Hermitage St.
Homewood,
Pittsburgh, PA 15208
CD 14
Jackson

Mr. Milton Street
1933 W. Diamond St.
Philadelphia, PA 19121
CD 2
Jackson

Hon. Marian Tasco
City Commissioner
8002 Thouron Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19150
At-Large
Mondale

Mr. Roy Troy
Kendereil, PA 16374
CD 23
Mondale

Mr. Leonard West
302 W. Earlharn St.
Philadelphia, PA 19144
CD 2
Jackson

Mr. George Woods
421 W. Ellet St.
Philadelphia, PA 19119
CD 2
Uncommitted

ALTERNATES

Ms. Electra Agras
73 Lebanon Hill Dr.
Pittsburgh, PA 15228
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Augusta Clarke
City Hall, Rm. 580
Philadelphia, PA 19107
CD 2
Jackson

Mr. Morris B. Ellisha
8637 Phouron Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19150
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Hermine Hart
1607 Wharton St.
Philadelphia, PA 19146
CD 1
Mondale

Ms. Patricia Hughes
Rm. 484, City Hall
Philadelphia, PA 19107
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Ava Marie Jeter
910 Fisher St.
Pittsburgh, PA 15210
CD 14
Mondale

Mr. Hardy Williams
5137 Walnut St.
Philadelphia, PA 19139
CD 2
Jackson

RHODE ISLAND

DELEGATES

Ms. Eva Jackson
30 Bullocks Pt. Avenue
Riverside, RI 02915
At-large
Mondale

ALTERNATES

Ms. Felicia A. Lee
142 Irving Avenue
Providence, RI 02906
At-large
Hart

SOUTH CAROLINA

DELEGATES

Ms. Mariam L. Bacot
256 Ashley Ave.
Charleston, S.C. 29403
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Dorethea Bowens
State Party Vice Chair/
DNC Member
Box 686
Myrtle Beach, S.C. 29577
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. James E. Clyburn
State Human Affairs
Commissioner
501 Juniper Street
Columbia, S.C. 29204
At-large
Unpledged

Ms. Izetta Dickerson
63 Nunan St.
Charleston, S.C. 29403
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Johnnie M. B. Dopson
Box 505
Bluffton, SC 29910
CD 1
Jackson

Mr. Willie J. Fennell, Jr.
Rt. 2, Box 219
Yemassee, S.C. 29945
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Mazie Butler Ferguson
816 Colleton St.
Columbia, SC 29203
At-Large
Jackson

Hon. Herbert Fielding
State Representative
122 Logan St.
Charleston, SC 29401
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Ms. Lillian B. Fleming
117 Asbury Ave.
Greenville, SC 28150
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Mr. Louis Fleming
256 E. Red Bay Rd.
Sumter, SC 29150
CD 5
Jackson

Ms. Delaine Frierson
725 Maney St.
Sumter, SC 29150
At-Large
Jackson

Ms. Lottie B. Gibson
104 Gettysburg Dr.
Greenville, S.C. 29605
CD 4
Jackson

Hon. Frank Gilbert
State Representative
1523 Rock Way Dr.
Florence, S.C. 29501
CD 6
Jackson

Ms. Gilda Cobb Hunter
1891 Colonial Dr. S.E.
Orangeburg, S.C. 29115
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Annette M. McCain
100 Edna Street
Belvedere, S.C. 29841
CD 3
Jackson

Mr. Kenneth Mosely
2480 Hickory Dr. N.E.
Orangeburg, S.C. 29115
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Sallie S. Peake
Box 215
Wellsford, S.C. 29383
Party Official
Mondale

Ms. Elaine Reed
709 S Main St.
Darlington, S.C. 29532
CD 6
Unpledged

Mr. Walker E. Solomon
1915 Germany St.
Columbia, S.C. 29204
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Beatrice Thompson
DNC Member
1111 Southwood St.
Anderson, S.C. 29621
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Hughey Walker
Rt. 2, Box 217
Hemingway, S.C. 29554
CD 6
Jackson

Ms. Clarissa Williams
809 Ranch Rd.
Florence, S.C. 29501
CD 6
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Mr. Robert E. Dennis
Rt. 3, Box 229
Simpsonville, SC 29681
CD 4
Jackson

Ms. Donna A. Franzese
811 Savage Rd.
Charleston, SC 29407
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Beverly D. Frierson
725 Maney St.
Sumter, SC 29150
CD 5
Jackson

Mr. John Roy Harper
Box 843
Columbia, SC 29202
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Miriam L. Joyner
90 Fishburne St.
Charleston, SC 29403
At-Large
Jackson

Mr. Thomas C. McCain
Rt. 1, Box 121-C
Trenton, SC 29847
CD 3
Unpledged

Mr. Alphonso Times
120 Lincoln Ave.
Sumter, SC 29150
CD 5
Uncommitted

Hon. McKinley Washington
State Representative
Box 247
Ravenel, SC 29460
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

TENNESSEE

DELEGATES

Ms. Yvonne B. Acey
5340 Norma Dr.
Memphis, TN, 38109
CD 9
Jackson

Ms. Henri E. Brooks
3695 Winpark Ct. #2
Memphis, TN 38018
CD 9
Jackson

Dr. Thomas Brooks, III
9229 Magic Mountain Dr.
Chattanooga, TN 37421
CD 3
Jackson

Ms. Ella Bryant
1208 Poplar St. #H
Chatanooga, TN 37403
CD 3
Jackson

Ms. Shirlitha Crawford
709 Benson Avenue
Nashville, TN 37206
At-large
Jackson

Hon. Lois DeBerry
State Representative
680 Ald a Avenue
Memphis, TN 38106
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Hon. Roscoe Dixon, Jr.
State Representative
1315 Quail Ridge Lane
Memphis, TN 38116
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Frances Fifer
2101 Oak Street
Chatanooga, TN 37403
CD 3
Mondale

Hon. Harold Ford
U.S. Representative
2305 Rayburn HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Richard Jackson
4191 Bobwhite Drive
Nashville, TN 37218
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Mr. Esseck Martin
3522 Stanton
Memphis, TN 38108
CD 9
Jackson

Mr. David C. Mills
713 Vanderhorst Dr.
Nashville, TN 37207
CD 5
Jackson

Mr. J.O. Patterson, Jr.
272 S. Main Street
Memphis, TN 38106
CD 9
Jackson

Ms. Annie J. Pruitt
1982 Farmington
Memphis, TN 38138
CD 9
Mondale

Mr. Dennis Reynolds
932 N. 3rd Street
Pulaski, TN 38478
CD 4
Hart

Mr. Earl Rice
Rt. 3 Box 762
Brownsville, TN 38012
CD 8
Mondale

Ms. Aline Rivers
2022 Jordan Drive
Nashville, TN 37218
At-large
Hart

Ms. Mary Stewart
656 Chambers Street
Gallatin, TN 37066
At-large
Jackson

Ms. Hazel Thomas-Little
5059 Hillsboro Rd. #154
Nashville, TN 37215
CD 5
Mondale

Ms. Delois Wilkinson
1504 Acklen Avenue
Nashville, TN 37212
CD 5
Jackson

Mr. Archie Willis, Jr.
416 Goodland Cir.
Memphis, TN 38111
CD 9
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Dr. C. C. Bond
5123 Lantana
Chattanooga, TN 37416
At-Large
Mondale

Mr. Frank Cuthbertson
3205A Granny White Pike
Nashville, TN 37204
At-Large
Jackson

Hon. John Ford
State Senator
3655 Summer Shade Grove
Memphis, TN 38116
At-Large
Mondale

Rev. Leo Gray
3492 Southland
Memphis, TN 38109
At-Large
Jackson

Ms. Thelma Harper
City Councilmember
714 Ringgold Dr.
Nashville, TN 37207
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mrs. C. E. McGruder
908 32nd Ave., N.
Nashville, TN 37209
CD 5
Jackson

Hon. C. B. Robinson
State Representative
1909 E. Fifth St.
Chattanooga, TN 37404
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Sammie Walker
4015 Ashview Circle
Memphis, TN 38118
CD 9
Mondale

TEXAS

DELEGATES

Ms. Ella Austin
413 Washington
Lufkin, TX 75901
D 3
Mondale

Ms. Osie M. Baggett
703 N. Pinkerton St.
Athens, TX 75751
D 9
Mondale

Ms. Joycie L. Burns
218 W. Eighth
Teague, TX 75860
D 9
Jackson

Ms. Bernice G. Conley
3024 S. Beckley Ave
Dallas, TX 75224
D 23
Mondale

Ms. Deralyn Riles Davis
State Party Vice Chair
Box 15126
Fort Worth, TX 76119
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Yvonne Davis
Rules Committee Member
1435 Fourth St., SW, B817
Washington, D.C. 20024
At-Large
Jackson

Hon. Wilhelmina R. Delco
State Representative
1805 Astor Pl.
Austin, TX 78721
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Ms. Frances Dirks
2654 Anderson St.
Dallas, TX
D 23
Jackson

Ms. Lana C. Edwards
3108 S. MacGregor Way
Houston, TX 77021
D 13
Jackson

Ms. Annette H. Exum
5402 Renwick, #926
Houston, TX 77081
D 15
Jackson

Mr. Weydan S. Flax
Box 5508
College Station, TX 77844
D 5
Hart

Ms. Annie Brown Foster
138 Weatherly Way
Houston, TX 77022
D 15
Mondale

Mr. Willie O. Gage
4710 Broadhill Dr.
Austin, TX 78723
D 14
Jackson

Rev. L. B. George
4517 Rolling Hills Dr.
Fort Worth, TX 76119
D 12
Jackson

Ms. Jurrell Gilliam
Box 212
New Waverly, TX 77358
D 5
Jackson

Hon. Alexander Green
Judge
4422 N. Roseneath
Houston, TX 77021
D 13
Jackson

Ms. L. Marie Guillory
2109 Maroneal
Houston, TX 77030
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Stella Hall
7309 Robin
Texas City, TX 77591
D 11
Mondale

Mr. Michael P. Heiskell
2637 Sunlight
Arlington, TX 76011
D 10
Jackson

Ms. Rosa S. Hereford
1303 Meadow Dr.
Killeen, TX 76541
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Erma Faye Jefferson
State Executive
Committee Member
407 Nagle #53
College Station, TX 77840
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Cora Johnson
10126 Alfred La.
Houston, TX 77041
D 6
Mondale

Ms. Eddie-Bernice Johnson
6305 Elder Grove Dr.
Dallas, TX 75232
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Bennie Jones
3029 51th St.
Dallas, TX 75216
At-Large
Hart

Mr. Jesse W. Jones
6139 Moonglow
Dallas, TX 75241
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Ms. Iris E. Lawrence
Box 5222
Amarillo, TX 79117
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Sherial Lenial Lawson
802 E. Houston
Dayton,TX 77535
D 4
Jackson

Hon. Mickey Leland
US Representative
419 Cannon HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Louis A. McWherter
9411 Saratoga Forest
Houston, TX 77088
D 6
Jackson

Mr. Telly H. Miller
100 Fisher Dr.
Marshall, Tx 75670
D 1
Jackson

Ms. Sandra Irving Napper
19106 Craigchester La.
Spring, TX 77388
At-Large
Jackson

Mr. Cleveland Nisby
4520 Corley St.
Beaumont, TX 77707
D 4
Jackson

Mr. Pettis Norman
211 Wynnwood Professional
Bldg.
Dallas, TX 75224
D 23
Jackson

Ms. Wilma Oliver
1712 Blodgett
Houston, TX 77004
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Carolyn C. Parker
3011 Trulley
Houston, TX 77004
D 13
Jackson

Mr. Wilbert Lavoid Perry
750 Enterprise
Houston, TX 77088
D 15
Jackson

Ms. Viola M. Pitts
5505 Kilpatrick
Fort Worth, TX 76107
D 12
Mondale

Ms. Joe Ann Smith
6318 Reed
Houston, TX 77087
At-Large
Jackson

Mr. Joe D. Starling
2931 Club Lake
Tyler, TX 75702
D 2
Jackson

Mr. Randy Sterling
6015 Williams Dr.
Texas City, TX 77591
D 11
Jackson

Hon. Lou Nelle Sutton
State Representative
711 N. Pine St.
San Antonio, TX 78202
D 19
Jackson

Mr. Fred Tinsley
State Executive
Committee Member
6770 Keswick Dr.
Dallas, TX 75232
D 23
Jackson

Mr. Robbin Washington
Platform Committee Member
10124 Honolulu
El Paso, TX 79925
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Mr. Joe L. Webb
City Council Member
2226 Burnet St.
San Antonio, TX 78202
D 19
Jackson

Mrs. Charles W. Wilson
Box 1791
Marshall, TX 75670
D 1
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Ms. Rose L. Brooks
308 Magnolia St.
San Marcos, TX 78666
D 14
Mondale

Ms. Pearlie Cooper
3509 Mt. Pleasant St.
Houston, TX 77021
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Jacqueline M. Cox
11922 New Brunswick
Houston, TX 77089
Mondale

Ms. Izean F. Davidson
4509 Rolling Hills Dr.
Fort Worth, TX 76119
D 12
Jackson

Ms. Daisy L. Davis
149 Village Green #224
Universal City, TX 78148
D 19
Mondale

Mr. Joseph H. Fitts
3426 Amber Forest Dr.
Houston, TX 77068
At-Large
Jackson

Mr. Raphos Foley, Jr.
5111 Idaho
Houston, TX 77021
D 13
Mondale

Mr. David L. Ford
1403 Cedar Dr.
Gladewater, TX 75647
D 1
Jackson

Mr. Bennie Jackson
2409 Lilly St.
Longview, TX 75602
D 1
Mondale

Ms. Fay Perkins
4010 Marchant
Houston, TX 77047
At-Large
Jackson

Ms. Bobbie Nell Ross
8102 Amelia Dr., #107F
Houston, TX 77055
D 7
Jackson

Mr. Ray Stubblefield
Box 158
DeSoto, TX 75115
D 9
Mondale

Mr. Ron Torain
5118 Perry St.
Houston, TX 77021
D 13
Jackson

VERMONT

DELEGATES

Mr. Otis McRae
Route 2
East Montpelier, VT 05651
CD 1
Jackson

VIRGINIA

DELEGATES

Ms. Jean Carter
Rt. 2, Box 97A
Cascade, VA 24069
CD 5
Unpledged

Ms. Brenda Cloyd
116 S. Third Street
Richmond, VA 23219
At-Large
Mondale

Mr. Herbert Collins
2128 Keller Avenue
Norfolk, VA 23504
At-Large
Jackson

Ms. Mary Cox
Platform Committee Member
314 W. Clay Street
Richmond, VA 23222
CD 3
Jackson

Mr. Leroy Fair
Platform Committee Member
2706 S. Grant Street
Arlington, VA 22202
At-Large
Hart

Ms. Mary Futrell
4821 Welford St.
Alexandria, VA 22309
At-Large
Mondale

Mr. Joseph Garret
113 Guthrie Rd.
Hampton, VA 23666
CD 1
Jackson

Mr. James Ghee
Rules Committee Member
Box 345
Farmville, VA 23901
CD 5
Jackson

Mr. David Hardy
Rt. 3, Box 103
Smithfield, VA 23430
CD 4
Jackson

Ms. Joyce Hobson
3 Toledo Ct.
Hampton, VA 23666
CD 1
Jackson

Mr. Edward Holley
4464 Silverleaf Drive
Virginia Beach, VA 23452
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Thea Johnson
11820 Blue Spruce Rd.
Reston, VA 22901
At-Large
Jackson

Mr. Herbert Macke
1105 N. Battlefield Blvd.
Chesapeake, VA 23320
CD 4
Jackson

Mr. Henry L. Marsh
City Council Member
3211 Que Street
Richmond, VA 23223
Party & Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Claudette Black McDaniel
Credentials Committee Member
104 E. 15th St.
Richmond, VA 23224
At-Large
Hart

Ms. Nellie McLeod
4332 Kentland Dr.
Dale City, VA 22193
At-Large
Jackson

Dr. Yvonne Miller
Credential Committee Member
7403 Oakmont Dr.
Norfolk, VA 23513
CD 2
Jackson

Mr. George Miller
42 Greenbriar Ave.
Hampton, VA 23661
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Henretta C. Newsome
148 Carson Cres.
Portsmouth, VA 23701
CD 4
Jackson

Dr. Evelyn Peevy
5313 Halter La.
Norfolk, VA 23502
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Gammiel Poindexter
P.O. Box 766
Surry, VA 23883
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Mr. Odis M. Price
4518 Kentland Dr.
Woodbridge, VA 22193
CD 8
Mondale

Ms. Jesse Rattley
City Council Member
529 Ivy Ave.
Newport News, VA 23607
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Yvette Ridley
20606 Third Avenue
Ettrick, VA 22091
At-Large
Jackson

Mr. John Sturdivant
Platform Committee Member
7821 Beard Ct.
Falls Church, VA 22043
CD 10
Mondale

Mr. Carl T. Tinsley
2647 Springhill Dr., N.W.
Roanoke, VA 24017
CD 6
Jackson

Ms. Ruby Walden
7704 S. Quay St.
Suffolk, VA 23434
CD 4
Jackson

Mr. William Ward
209 Shoreside Rd.
Chesapeake, VA 23220
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Ms. Linda White
Rt. 1, Box 302
Union Hall, VA 24176
CD 5
Jackson

Hon. L. Douglas Wilder
State Senator
3215 Hawthorne Ave.
Richmond, VA 23222
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Sylvia Williams
Rt. 4, Box 112-C
Fredericksburg, VA 22405
At-Large
Jackson

Mr. L. E. Willis
5110 Nochol Ct.
Norfolk, VA 23508
CD 2
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Ms. Gwendolyn Davis
4464 Silverleaf Drive
Virginia Beach, VA 23462
At-Large
Jackson

Mr. Lynwood DeBrew
611-B 25th Street
Newport News, VA 23607
CD 1
Jackson

Mr. Joe Fleming
6512 Portsmouth Blvd.
Portsmouth, VA 23704
CD 4
Jackson

Rev. J. W. Johnson
Box 322
Surry, VA 23883
CD 4
Jackson

Mr. Jesse Mayes
20608 Southlawn Avenue
Ettrick, VA 23803
CD 3
Uncommitted

Ms. Juanita Owens-Penn
3641 Beachwood Drive
Petersburg, VA 23805
At-Large
Jackson

VIRGIN ISLANDS

DELEGATES

Hon. Adelbert M. Bryan
State Senator
Box 1204
Frederiksted,
St. Croix, Virgin Islands 00820
Jackson

Mr. Alexander A. Farrelly
Rules Committee Member
Box 1239
St. Thomas, VI 00801
Mondale

Ms. Marilyn A. Stapelton
State Party Vice Chair
DNC Member
Box 3739
St. Thomas, VI 00801
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. St. Claire N. Williams
State Party Chair
Territorial Committee
Secretary
DNC Member
Box 2929
Christiansted
St. Croix,VI 00820
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

ALTERNATES

Ms. Donna M. Christian-Green
State Committee--Secretary
Box 3576
Christiansted
St. Croix, VI 00820
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Hon. Hugo Dennis, Jr.
State Senator
Box 477
St. Thomas, VI 00801
Mondale

WASHINGTON

DELEGATES

Ms. Monica Benton
3105 S. Jefferson
Seattle, WA 98104
CD 7
Mondale

Mr. George Fleming
1100 Lake Washington Blvd.
Seattle, WA 98144
At-Large
Mondale

Mr. Lem Howell
Precinct Committee-person
814 Lakeside Ave., S.
Seattle, WA 98144
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Ethan Kelly
64 Silverbeach Dr.
Steilacoom, WA 98388
CD 6
Hart

Mr. Bevan Maxey
S. 1015 F Street
Spokane, WA 99204
At-Large
Hart

Mr. Sam McKinney
838 33rd Avenue
Seattle, WA 98144
CD 7
Jackson

Ms. Tutti Carter Orange
7220 79th Avenue S.
Seattle, WA 98118
CD 7
Hart

Ms. Kathleen Merrill Rae
335 Heather Road, #309
Everett, WA 98203
CD 2
Hart

Ms. Lacy Steele
16717 N.E. 22nd St.
Bellevue, WA 98008
CD 8
Mondale

Mr. Robert Stowers
11802 76th S.
Seattle, WA 98118
At-Large
Hart

ALTERNATES

Ms. Edith Isbeel
17232 Meadowdale Drive
Lynnwood, WA 98036
CD 1
Hart

Mr. Ray Williams
3111 37th Place S.
Seattle, WA 98144
CD 7
Mondale

WEST VIRGINIA

DELEGATES

Ms. Marian Alston
5316 Venable Ave.
Charleston, WV 25304
At-Large
Mondale

Ms. Lucile S. Meadows
Box 642
Fayetteville, WV 25840
CD 2
Mondale

ALTERNATES

Ms. Beverly L. Tunstalle
Box 2124
Beckley, WV 25801
CD 4
Mondale

WISCONSIN

DELEGATES

Mr. George McKinney
3902 North 16th St.
Milwaukee, WI 53206
CD 5
Mondale

Hon. Terrance Pitts
Milwaukee County Supervisor
Chairman, National
Democratic County
Officials
DNC Member
2011 West Capitol Drive
Milwaukee, WI 53206
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Ms. Jean M. Robinson
620 West Badger Rd., #14
Madison, WI 53713
CD 2
Jackson

Ms. Shirley V. Shannon
2824 Hayes Avenue
Racine, WI 53405
CD 1
Mondale

Ms. Shirley Warren
2020 North Sixth St.
Milwaukee, WI 53221
CD 5
Jackson

Ms. Ruby J. Washington
40 McKinley Avenue
Racine, WI. 53404
CD 1
Hart

Hon. Annette Polly Williams
State Representative
3237 North 14th St.
Milwaukee, WI 53204
CD 5
Jackson

ALTERNATES

Mr. Orlando Bell
5110 Violet Lane
Madison, WI 53714
CD 2
Hart

Ms. Danae Davis-Gordon
2846 Coolidge Street
Madison, WI 53704
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Juliette Greenlaw
7626 W. Thurston Avenue
Milwaukee, WI 53218
At-Large
Hart

Mr. Greenie L. Jackson
501 E. Miller
Greenwood, 54437
CD 3
Mondale

Mr. Jerrel Jones
8606 Kildeer Court
Milwaukee, WI 53209
CD 5
Jackson

WYOMING

ALTERNATES

Hon. Harriett Elizabeth Byrd
State Representative
6400 Antelope Ave.
Cheyenne, WY 82009
At-Large
Mondale

Table 1. Black delegate representation at Democratic National Conventions, by state, 1972-1984.

State	Total delegates, 1984	Black percent of population, 1980	Black delegates							
			1984		1980		1976		1972	
			#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Alabama	62	25.6	23	37.1	17	37.7	6	17.1	10	27.0
Alaska	14	3.4	3	21.4	0	0.0	1	6.3	1	5.0
Arizona	40	2.8	2	5.0	3	10.3	1	4.0	2	8.0
Arkansas	42	16.3	15	35.7	7	21.2	2	7.7	5	18.5
California	345	7.7	48	13.9	38	12.4	33	11.8	51	18.8
Colorado	51	3.5	5	9.8	2	5.0	4	11.4	5	13.8
Connecticut	60	7.0	7	11.7	6	11.1	3	5.9	4	7.8
Delaware	18	16.1	3	16.7	2	14.2	0	0.0	3	15.0
District of Columbia	19	70.3	16	84.2	12	63.1	8	47.1	14	70.0
Florida	143	13.8	20	14.0	18	18.0	4	4.9	10	12.3
Georgia	84	26.8	32	38.1	14	22.2	13	26.0	16	30.1
Hawaii	27	1.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Idaho	22	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	6.3	2	10.0
Illinois	194	14.7	39	20.1	28	15.6	21	12.4	17	10.0
Indiana	88	7.6	14	15.9	9	11.2	7	9.3	11	14.4
Iowa	58	1.4	4	6.9	4	8.0	2	4.3	3	6.5
Kansas	44	5.3	5	11.4	2	5.4	1	2.9	4	11.4
Kentucky	63	7.1	6	9.5	2	4.0	2	4.4	5	10.6
Louisiana	69	29.4	29	42.0	19	37.2	6	14.6	19	43.2
Maine	27	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Maryland	74	22.7	24	32.4	12	20.3	11	20.8	7	13.2
Massachusetts	116	3.9	5	4.3	6	5.4	4	3.9	12	11.8
Michigan	155	12.9	41	26.5	28	19.8	28	21.1	27	20.5
Minnesota	86	1.3	4	4.7	5	6.6	4	6.2	6	9.4
Mississippi	43	35.2	16	37.2	11	34.3	8	33.3	14	56.0

Missouri	86	10.5	12	14.0	10	12.9	9	12.7	9	12.3
Montana	25	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	N.A.	N.A.	1	5.0
Nebraska	30	3.1	2	6.7	2	8.3	1	4.4	1	4.2
Nevada	20	6.4	1	5.0	1	8.3	2	12.5	2	10.0
New Hampshire	22	0.4	1	4.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
New Jersey	122	12.6	21	17.2	20	17.6	9	8.3	17	15.6
New Mexico	28	1.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
New York	285	13.7	54	18.9	48	17.0	25	9.1	35	12.6
North Carolina	88	22.4	27	30.7	16	23.1	9	14.8	13	20.3
North Dakota	18	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
Ohio	175	10.0	29	16.6	23	14.2	27	17.8	27	17.6
Oklahoma	53	6.8	5	9.4	6	14.2	4	10.8	3	7.7
Oregon	50	1.4	3	6.0	1	2.5	0	0.0	2	5.9
Pennsylvania	195	8.8	36	18.5	21	11.3	18	10.1	19	10.4
Rhode Island	27	2.9	1	3.7	0	0.0	1	4.6	2	9.1
South Carolina	48	30.4	22	45.8	16	43.2	7	22.6	11	34.4
South Dakota	19	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.9	0	0.0
Tennessee	76	15.8	21	27.6	9	16.3	8	17.4	16	32.7
Texas	200	12.0	45	22.5	24	15.7	16	12.3	13	10.0
Utah	27	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Vermont	17	0.2	1	5.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
Virginia	78	18.9	32	41.0	17	26.5	9	16.7	15	28.3
Washington	70	2.6	10	14.3	10	17.2	2	3.8	3	5.8
West Virginia	44	3.3	2	4.5	1	2.8	1	3.0	0	0.0
Wisconsin	89	3.9	7	7.9	8	10.6	3	4.4	5	7.5
Wyoming	15	0.7	0	0.0	1	9.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
American Samoa	6	N.A.	0	0.0	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Guam	7	N.A.	0	0.0	0	0.0	N.A.	N.A.	0	0.0
Puerto Rico	53	N.A.	0	0.0	0	0.0	N.A.	N.A.	0	0.0
Virgin Islands	6	N.A.	4*	66.7	2	50.0	0	0.0	4	66.7
Latin America	5	N.A.	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Democrats Abroad	5	N.A.	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
TOTALS	3,933	11.7	697	17.7	481	14.4	332	10.7	450	14.9

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

N.A. Not Available

Note: In 1972 and 1976, the total number of Democratic delegates was 3,106 in 1972, 3,008 in 1976, and 3,331 in 1930.

* Two of these delegates have a full vote apiece and two have three-fifths of a vote apiece.

Table 2. Black Delegates at Democratic National Conventions, 1932-1980

Election year	Total number delegates	Number black delegates	% Black delegates to total	Black alternates
1932	1,154	0	--	10
1936	1,204	12	0.1	18
1940	1,094	7	0.6	18
1944	1,176	11	0.9	13
1948	1,234	17	1.3	*
1952	1,230	33	2.6	*
1956	1,372	24	1.7	21
1960	1,521	46	3.0	37
1964	2,316	65	2.8	55
1968	3,084	209	6.7	173
1972	3,103	452	14.6	*
1976	3,048	323	10.6	170
1980	3,331	481	14.4	297
1984	3,933	697	17.7	225

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Note: Definitive data on black delegates to Democratic Conventions are not available. These figures were compiled from a variety of sources.

* Alternates not specified.

Table 3. Black Voter Registration, 1982

Rank by number of unregistered blacks	State	Unregistered black voting-age population	Registered black voting-age population	Total black voting-age population**	Percentage of voting-age blacks registered	Reagan victory margin, 1980
1	New York*	894,000	737,000	1,631,000	45.2	165,459
2	Texas	520,000	678,000	1,198,000	56.6	629,558
3	North Carolina*	506,000	391,000	897,000	43.6	39,383
4	Georgia	472,000	510,000	982,000	51.9	-236,787
5	California	462,000	836,000	1,298,000	64.4	1,441,183
6	Florida	459,000	464,000	923,000	50.3	627,476
7	Virginia*	331,000	383,000	714,000	53.6	237,435
8	Pennsylvania	294,000	426,000	720,000	59.2	324,332
9	South Carolina*	292,000	333,000	625,000	53.3	11,456
10	Alabama*	272,000	372,000	644,000	57.7	17,462
11	Illinois	257,000	819,000	1,077,000	76.1	376,681
12	Maryland	256,000	407,000	664,000	61.4	-45,555
13	Louisiana*	256,000	557,000	813,000	68.5	84,400
14	New Jersey	247,000	363,000	610,000	59.5	399,193
15	Ohio	247,000	470,000	717,000	65.6	454,131
16	Michigan	214,000	553,000	767,000	72.1	253,693
17	Tennessee*	158,000	322,000	479,000	67.1	4,710
18	District of Columbia	149,000	171,000	320,000	53.5	-102,611
19	Mississippi*	131,000	410,000	541,000	75.8	11,808
20	Arkansas*	85,000	147,000	233,000	63.3	5,123
21	Indiana	84,000	182,000	265,000	68.5	411,459
22	Missouri	79,000	260,000	339,000	76.7	142,999
23	Connecticut	68,000	75,000	143,000	52.3	135,478
24	Massachusetts*	64,000	86,000	149,000	57.3	2,423
25	Kentucky*	62,000	114,000	176,000	64.9	17,857
26	Oklahoma	56,000	82,000	138,000	59.2	293,544
27	Wisconsin	13,000	97,000	111,000	87.9	107,261

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

* In these states, the number of unregistered voting-age blacks in 1982 exceeded the Republican margin of victory in the 1980 presidential election.

** Because all numbers are rounded to the nearest thousand, some numbers in this column do not equal the sum of numbers in the two preceding columns.

Table 4. Top 20 Cities Ranked by Black Voting-Age Population, 1980

City	Black voting-age population	Total voting age population	Black percentage of total
New York, NY	1,202,125	5,306,172	22.7
Chicago, IL	764,574	2,152,196	35.5
Detroit, MI	489,017	838,721	58.3
Philadelphia, PA	433,964	1,251,052	34.7
Los Angeles, CA	352,259	2,221,112	15.9
Washington, D.C.	325,518	494,842	65.8
Baltimore, MD	289,638	574,832	50.4
Houston, TX	285,722	1,142,883	25.0
New Orleans, LA	194,326	397,183	48.9
Memphis, TN	192,587	458,338	42.0
Atlanta, GA	188,504	311,139	60.6
Cleveland, OH	170,302	414,378	41.1
Dallas, TX	167,308	660,286	25.3
St. Louis, MO	134,750	334,649	40.3
Newark, NJ	119,534	217,022	55.1
Oakland, CA	109,032	256,845	42.5
Birmingham, AL	105,536	208,654	50.6
Indianapolis, IN	97,789	500,360	19.5
Jacksonville, FL	87,652	385,339	22.7
Cincinnati, OH	86,203	288,203	29.9

Source: Data from U.S. Bureau of the Census

Table 5. Voter Turnout by Race and Region, 1964-1982

	Congressional elections						Presidential elections			
	1982	1978	1974	1970	1966	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
United States										
White	49.9%	47.3%	46.3%	56.0%	57.0%	60.9%	60.9%	64.5%	69.1%	70.7%
Black	43.0	37.2	33.8	43.5	41.7	50.5	48.7	52.1	57.6	58.5
Difference	6.9	10.1	12.5	12.5	15.3	10.4	12.2	12.4	11.5	12.2
North and West										
White	53.1	50.0	50.0	59.8	61.7	62.4	62.6	67.5	71.8	74.7
Black	48.5	41.3	37.9	51.4	52.1	52.8	52.2	56.7	64.8	72.0
Difference	4.6	8.7	12.1	8.4	9.6	9.6	10.4	10.8	7.0	2.7
South										
White	42.9	41.1	37.4	46.4	45.1	57.4	57.1	57.0	61.9	59.6
Black	38.3	33.5	30.0	36.8	32.9	48.2	45.7	47.8	51.6	44.0
Difference	4.6	7.6	7.4	9.6	12.2	9.2	11.4	9.2	10.3	15.5

Source: Data from U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Note: The data here are from Census Bureau post-election surveys, in which samples of the population are asked whether they voted in the last election. Thus, the percentages reflect those who reported voting; these percentages are usually higher than the percentages of people who actually voted.

Table 6. Reported Black Voter Registration and Turnout by Age and Sex, 1980

	Reported Registered %	Reported Voted %	Voting Age Population (Thousands)	Unregistered Population (Thousands)
Male	57.2	47.5	7,299	3,123
18 to 20 years	35.6	25.9	748	482
21 to 24 years	42.8	30.9	854	488
25 tp 34 years	53.4	43.8	1,749	814
35 to 44 years	63.4	54.1	1,192	436
45 to 54 years	62.8	54.2	1,064	396
55 to 64 years	68.7	60.1	847	265
65 to 74 years	72.2	63.2	577	161
75 years and over	69.6	54.6	267	81
Female	62.2	52.8	9,124	3,451
18 to 20 years	35.2	24.7	851	551
21 to 24 years	48.7	36.5	1,106	567
25 to 34 years	59.1	49.8	2,207	903
35 to 44 years	70.5	62.6	1,517	447
45 to 54 years	71.2	62.4	1,236	357
55 to 64 years	74.6	68.0	1,013	257
65 to 74 years	75.0	66.1	774	194
75 years and over	58.2	44.7	420	175

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit, [illegible]

[illegible]

11.4

Election '84
Report #4

Blacks and the 1984 Republican National Convention: A Guide

Joint Center for Political Studies Washington, D.C. 1984

The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publications, and conferences.

Opinions expressed in Joint Center publications are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the other staff, officers, or governors of the Joint Center or of the organizations supporting the center and its research.

ISBN 0-941410-51-X

Copyright ©1984, Joint Center for Political Studies, Inc.
All Rights Reserved
Printed in the United States of America

1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004

CONTENTS

Foreword v

1. Introduction 1

2. General Fact Sheet 3

3. Hotel Assignments of State Delegations 4

4. Convention Calendar 6

5. Roster of Delegates and Alternates 7

6. The Black Vote in Perspective: Background Tables

1. Black Delegates to Republican National Conventions, 1912-1984 19

2. Black Delegate Representation, by State, 1972-1984 20

3. Black Voter Registration, 1982 22

4. Top 20 Cities Ranked by Black Voting-Age Population, 1980 23

5. Voter Turnout by Race and Region, 1964-1982 24

6. Black Voter Registration and Turnout by Age and Sex, 1980 25

FOREWORD

The Joint Center for Political Studies congratulates the 69 black delegates and the 88 black alternates to the 1984 Republican National Convention. This year, blacks make up 3.1 percent of the delegates and 3.8 percent of the alternates, up slightly from 2.7 percent and 3.3 percent, respectively, in 1980.

This guide lists the names and addresses of this important cadre of black political leadership. It also includes background on black political participation and blacks in the Republican party, as well as information on the convention schedule. Included in the schedule are events of special interest to black delegates, sponsored by the National Black Republican Council.

Because incumbent President Ronald Reagan and Vice President George Bush are seeking reelection, there was no contest for the Republican nomination this year, and virtually all delegates are committed to the Reagan-Bush ticket. Therefore, delegate preferences are not specified in this directory. Moreover, the platform deliberations are somewhat attenuated this year and are scheduled to take place the Thursday before the convention, so we are not able to include a summary of the platform in this guide.

The Joint Center offers to assist delegates and alternates during the convention to facilitate their effective participation. This guidebook and roster of black delegates and alternates is one effort to help. Similar volumes have been prepared for both Democratic and Republican conventions since 1972. This volume is also the fourth in a series of JCPS Election 84 Reports. We hope the information it provides will prove helpful at the convention and afterward.

Blacks and the 1984 Republican National Convention: A Guide was prepared under the supervision of Milton D. Morris, director of research, by the following members of the JCPS staff: Thomas Cavanagh, research associate; Devonda Byers, research assistant; Kevin Armstrong, staff writer; and Jonathan House, office assistant. Deborah Rivers and Panola Golson were responsible for typing the manuscript. Catherine Iino, director of publications, and Constance Toliver, editorial assistant, oversaw production.

We are grateful to Chairwoman Legree Daniels and Antoinette Scott, of the National Black Republican Council, and to Ronald McDuffie and Sharon Griffith of the Republican National Committee, for their assistance in the preparation of this guide. We are also indebted to the Aetna Life & Casualty Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Westinghouse Electric Corporation for their financial support of this research effort.

Eddie N. Williams
President
August 1984

1. INTRODUCTION:
BLACKS AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN 1984

There will be 69 black delegates and 88 black alternates at this year's Republican National Convention. Black delegates will comprise 3.1 percent of the total number of convention delegates. Both the number and percentage represent an increase over the 1980 showing of 55 black delegates (or 2.7 percent of the total); but the 1984 figures are still somewhat below those of 1976, when there were 76 black delegates (3.4 percent of the total).

The largest number of black delegates, nine, can be found in the California delegation. Ohio is second with seven, followed by Michigan with five, and Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia with four apiece. Two southern states that are over one-fourth black, Alabama and South Carolina, have no black delegates, although Alabama has three black alternates and South Carolina has one.

Since 1964, 85 percent or more of black votes have gone to Democratic presidential candidates. Yet it was not so long ago that blacks, far from being considered a monolithic voting bloc, were considered a crucial swing vote to be cultivated by both parties, much as Italians, Jews, and Mexican-Americans are today. Dwight Eisenhower received 39 percent of the black vote in 1956 nationwide and is thought by some analysts to have won a majority of the black vote in the South that year. Richard Nixon carried 32 percent of the black vote as late as 1960. So the one-party cast of current black politics is of comparatively recent vintage.

At the state and local level, individual Republican candidates have continued to enjoy black support even as it was beginning to atrophy at the presidential level. Pennsylvania Governor Richard Thornburgh carried a majority of the black vote in his 1978 campaign. The nation's only black senator in this century, Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, was a Republican and enjoyed overwhelming black support in his losing 1978 reelection bid. Retiring Republican Congressman Jack Edwards has regularly received about one-third of the black vote in his Mobile, Alabama, district for many years. Other Republicans pulling in over one-fourth of the black vote in their most recent campaigns include Senators Charles Mathias of Maryland, Charles Percy of Illinois, and Lowell Weicker of Connecticut. Black constituents can sometimes provide a crucial margin for Republican candidates in close races.

Nevertheless, the black vote has unquestionably been a consistent bulwark of the Democratic coalition for the past quarter century. From a Republican perspective, this situation presents an intriguing opportunity. Without black votes in many of the Northern and Midwestern industrial states, the Democrats could not hope to attain a majority in the Senate or in presidential elections. Similarly, the presence of safe Democratic seats in inner-city districts gives the Democrats a cushion in assembling a majority in the House of Representatives. Even in the South, where blacks comprise one-third or more of the electorate in many jurisdictions, just a modest shift in the black vote could make the Republican party truly competitive throughout the region. In sum, substantial Republican inroads into the black vote would all but eliminate the majority status of the Democratic party.

The Republican National Committee has made a number of efforts to expand black participation in the party. In 1970, The National Black Republican Council was established as an official auxiliary of the Republican party. The chairperson of the council is an ex officio voting member of the Republican National Committee. NBRC serves as a caucus for black Republicans and "encourages participation in voter registration, get-out-the-vote drives, political rallies, telephone banks, volunteer work at county and campaign headquarters, and running for office." NBRC reports that it has approximately 3,000 members nationwide.

The current offices of NBRC are:

National Chair:	Legree S. Daniels
Co-chairs:	Leroy Tombs Jack E. Robinson

Vice-chair, Finance: Janet Earl
Treasurer: Roosevelt Ridgeway
General Counsel: Wendell Freeland
Recording Secretary: Ruth Moseley

In the late 1970s, the RNC initiated an effort to recruit and train black candidates to run for congressional seats and other major offices. The effort met with some success in 1982, when 14 blacks were Republican nominees for congressional seats, and a black Republican, Virgil Brown, ran an impressive (though unsuccessful) race for secretary of state of Ohio. Similar efforts are under way this year to recruit black candidates.

Future Republican efforts to reach out to blacks could meet with increasing success. There is growing disenchantment in the black community with the current strategic situation, in which most blacks perceive a choice between voting Democratic and staying home. As Representative Jack Kemp said at the 1984 conference of the National Urban League, "Most people today, Republicans and Democrats alike, have come to consider the Democratic party as the 'natural' political home of black Americans. For many reasons, I'm convinced that this situation is not healthy--not for blacks, not for my party, and most of all, not for America."

2. GENERAL FACT SHEET

CONVENTION SITE:	Convention Center 650 South Griffin Street Dallas, TX 75202 (214) 220-1984
RNC HEADQUARTERS:	Hyatt Regency 300 Reunion Boulevard Dallas, TX 75207 (214) 651-1234
DATES:	August 20, 1984 through August 23, 1984
REAGAN/BUSH HEADQUARTERS:	Lowe's Anatole Dallas Hotel 2201 Stemmons Freeway Dallas, TX 75207 (214) 748-1200
NUMBER OF DELEGATES:	2,235 delegates and 2,235 alternates
NUMBER OF VOTES REQUIRED FOR NOMINATION:	A simple majority of one more than half (1,119)
HOW DELEGATES ARE CHOSEN:	In primary elections, state conventions, district conventions and caucuses, and state committee meetings or a combination of methods.

3. HOTEL ASSIGNMENTS OF STATE DELEGATIONS

STATE	HOTEL
Alabama	Harvey House 1600 North Central Expressway
Alaska	Plaza Hotel 1933 Main Street
Arizona	Sheraton - Dallas Hotel Southland Center
Arkansas	Holiday Inn - Central 4070 North Central Expressway
Calif.	Loew's Anatole Dallas Hotel 2201 Stemmons Freeway
	Holiday Inn - Market Center 1955 North Industrial Blvd.
Colorado	The Registry 15201 North Dallas Parkway
Conn.	Holiday Inn - Northpark Plaza 10650 North Central Expressway
Delaware	Dallas Hilton Inn 5600 North Central Expressway
D.C.	Best Western - Inn Market Center 2023 North Industrial Blvd.
Florida	Dallas Hilton 1914 Commerce Street
Georgia	Granada Royale Hometel 2727 Stemmons Freeway
Guam	Plaza Hotel 1933 Main Street
Hawaii	Plaza Hotel 1933 Main Street
Idaho	Quality Inn - Market Center 2015 North Industrial Blvd.
Illinois	Marriott - DFW Freeport 8440 Freeport Parkway
	Holiday Inn - DFW North 4441 West Highway 114
Indiana	Twin Sixties Inn 6060 North Central Expressway
Iowa	Ramada Hotel Dallas 1055 Regal Road
Kansas	Doubletree Inn at Campbell Centre 8250 North Central Expressway
Kentucky	Executive Inn 3232 West Mockingbird Lane
Louisiana	Dallas Hilton 1914 Commerce Street
Maine	Lincoln Radisson Hotel 5410 LBJ Freeway
Maryland	Holiday Inn (Richardson) 1655 North Central Expressway
Mass.	Sheraton Inn - Mockingbird West 1893 West Mockingbird Lane
Michigan	Marriott - Quorum 14900 Quorum
Minnesota	The Summit Hotel 2645 LBJ Freeway at I-35
Miss.	Holiday Inn - Brookhollow 7050 Stemmons Freeway
Missouri	Dupont Plaza Hotel 899 Stemmons Freeway
Montana	Westin Hotel 13340 Dallas Parkway
Nebraska	Holiday Inn - Crowne Plaza 499 Valleyview Lane
Nevada	Hyatt Regency Dallas 300 Reunion Blvd.
N.H.	Lincoln Radisson Hotel 5410 LBJ Freeway

STATE	HOTEL
N.J.	Hilton - LBJ Dallas 4801 LBJ Freeway
N. Mex.	Viscount Travelodge 4500 Harry Hines Blvd.
New York	Amfac Hotel and Resort DFW Airport
N.C.	Plaza of the Americas Hotel 650 North Pearl Boulevard
N. Dakota	Holiday Inn - Central 4070 N Central Expressway
Ohio	Marriott Inn - Park Central 7750 LBJ Freeway
	Holiday Inn - North 8102 LBJ Freeway & Coit Road
Oklahoma	Grenelefe Hotel 1011 South Akard at I-30
Oregon	Melrose Hotel 3015 Oak Lawn Avenue
Pa.	Wyndham Hotel 2222 Stemmons Freeway
Puerto Rico	Holiday Inn - Regal Row 1575 Regal Row & Stemmons Freeway
R.I.	Bradford Hotel 302 South Houston Street
S.C.	Ramada Inn - DFW Irving 120 West Airport Freeway
S. Dakota	Westin Hotel 13340 Dallas Parkway
Tennessee	The Regent Hotel 1241 West Mockingbird Lane
Texas	Fairmont Hotel Ross and Akard Street
	Sheraton - Dallas Hotel Southland Center
Utah	Marriott Hotel - Market Center 2101 Stemmons Freeway
Vermont	Lincoln Radisson Hotel 5410 LBJ Freeway
Virginia	Sheraton Park Central LBJ and Coit Road
Virgin Islands	Plaza Hotel 1933 Main Street
Wash.	Northpark Inn 9300 North Central Expressway
W.Va.	Sheraton Park Central LBJ and Coit Road
Wisconsin	Mandalay Four Seasons (Irving) 221 South Las Colinas
Wyoming	Westin Hotel 13340 Dallas Parkway

4. CONVENTION CALENDAR

Saturday, August 18	
8:30 a.m. - 5:30 p.m.	National Black Republican Council Convention Hyatt Regency
Monday, August 20	
10:00 a.m.	1984 Republican Convention Session Opening Ceremonies
2:00 p.m.-5:30 p.m.	Convention Committee Meetings Credentials Committee, Ballroom B Permanent Organization, Ballroom D Rules and Order of Business, Ballroom C Resolutions (Platform), Theater Building
8:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.	1984 Republican Convention Session Speech by U.S. Treasurer Katherine D. Ortega
Tuesday, August 21	
10:00 a.m.	1984 Republican Convention Session Approval of Committee Reports
2:00 p.m. - 4:00 p.m.	Black Delegates' Meeting
8:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.	1984 Republican Convention Session Speech by Former President Gerald Ford
Wednesday, August 22	
7:30 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.	1984 Republican Convention Session Presidential nomination by Congressman Paul Laxalt, Chairman of the Republican Party Presidential nomination seconded by Congresswoman Bobbi Fiedler
Thursday, August 23	
8:00 p.m. - 10:00 p.m.	1984 Republican Convention Session Vice-presidential acceptance speech Presidential acceptance speech

5. ROSTER OF BLACK DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES

ALABAMA

ALTERNATES

Jack Crittendon
4337 Sunnybrook Drive
Montgomery, AL 36108

John Smith
P.O. Box 10427
Pritchard, AL 36610

T. T. Williams
P.O. Box 681
Tuskegee, AL 36088

ARIZONA

DELEGATES

Wanda Williams Green
2021 E. Osborn Road, #14
Phoenix, AZ 85016

Edward L. V. Reed
4832 East Hearn Road
Scottsdale, AZ 85254

ALTERNATES

Stanley D. Grimes
1841 East Pebble Beach Drive
Tempe, AZ 85253

ARKANSAS

DELEGATES

Elijah Coleman
Route 4, Box 208A
Pine Bluff, AR 71602

Soloman Scaife
P.O. Box 5504
Pine Bluff, AR 71611

ALTERNATES

Kenneth Wayne Harris
1514 Summit
Little Rock, AR 72203

Essie Stevenson
604 N. 8th Street
Fort Smith, AR 72901

Odell Thomas
3308 West 16th
Little Rock, AR 72204

Arnell Willis
942 Alabama Street
W. Helena, AR 72930

CALIFORNIA

DELEGATES

Linda Stockdale Brewer
709 Columbia Drive
Sacramento, CA 95825

Jordan Daniels, Jr.
5237 W. 21st Street
Los Angeles, CA 90016

James Flournoy
4155 Mt. Vernon Drive
Los Angeles, CA 90008

Mary Lee Gray
4202 East San Luis Street
Compton, CA 90221

Deborah M. Hesse
270 Selby Ranch, #1
Sacramento, CA 95825

Carl J. Johnson
976 E. 55th Street
Los Angeles, CA 90011

Henry Lucas
5019 Diamond Heights Blvd.
San Francisco, CA 94131

Clarence J. Patterson
9343 Granada Avenue
Oakland, CA 94605

Vance Raye
3005 Nikol Street
Sacramento, CA 95826

ALTERNATES

Suzanne M. Adams-Fisher
1635 Neal Armstrong St., #244
Montebello, CA 90640

Ward Connerly
8340 Marina Green Way
Sacramento, CA 95826

William J. Galloway
233 Columbia Street
Pasadena, CA 91105

Doris J. Kemp
7489 24th Street
Sacramento, CA 95822

George Walker Smith
5514 Miro Flores Drive
San Diego, CA 92114

Gilbert Smith
4905 Escalon Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90043

Kenneth Frederick Smith
14050 Broadway Terrace
Oakland, CA 94611

Mary Stevens
12834 Daventry Street
Pacoima, CA 91331

Gerti B. Thomas
555 Pierce Street, #1106
Albany, CA 94706

COLORADO

ALTERNATES

Dennis Johnson
8091 E. Linvale Place
Denver, CO 80231

Art Underwood
2600 Colorado Blvd.
Denver, CO 80207

CONNECTICUT

DELEGATES

Carolle Thiesfield
388 Farmington Avenue, #C1
Hartford, CT 06105

ALTERNATES

Benjamin Andrews, Jr.
51 Willard Street
Hartford, CT 06105

DELAWARE

DELEGATES

Thomas A. Jeter, Jr.
Rt. 4, Box 156
Dover, DE 19901

Charles H. Toliver, IV
108 W. 40th Street
Wilmington, DE 19802

Marilyn Whittington
1512 W. 14th Street
Wilmington, DE 19806

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

DELEGATES

Alice Banks
3636 16th Street, N.W., #B-1130
Washington, D.C. 20010

W. Antoinette Ford
2909 Park Drive, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20020

Clarence V. McKee, Esq.
560 N Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024

Jerry A. Moore, Jr.
1612 Buchanan Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20011

ALTERNATES

Clinton W. Chapman
1015 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20012

Tailey R. Holmes, Jr.
1323 Leegate Road, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20012

Charles E. Tolson
2146 30th Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20018

Mary C. Tucker
5921 2nd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20011

John Wilks
500 23rd Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20037

FLORIDA

ALTERNATES

Florence Hicks Alexander
1118 9th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

GEORGIA

DELEGATES

Anne Harris
3081 Eleanor Terrace, N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30318

Portia Scott-Brookins
2302 Edgewater Drive, S.W.
Gainesville, GA 30311

ALTERNATES

Carolyn Austin-Hensley
1257 Boxwood Blvd.
Columbus, GA 31906

Milton White
2924 Handy Drive, N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30318

IDAHO

ALTERNATES

Don Mitchell
Boise Cascade
1552 Lenz Lane
Boise, ID 83712

Rudolph Wilson
2165 Ridgeview Way
Boise, ID 83712

ILLINOIS

DELEGATES

Bettye Baldwin
9645 S. Emerald
Chicago, IL 60628

William O. Stewart
219 E. 45th Street
Chicago, IL 60653

ALTERNATES

Curtis Foster
200 N. Keever
Chicago, IL 60624

Thomas R. Jones
1532 W. Fredonia
Peoria, IL 61606

Jewell LaFont
180 E. Pearson #4044
Chicago, IL 60611

Spencer Leak
1650 92nd Street
Chicago, IL 60649

Marcine Street
5429 S. Drexel
Chicago, IL 60615

INDIANA

DELEGATES

Betty Pettiford
1819 South Selby Street
Marion, IN 46952

ALTERNATES

Thomas L. Hayes
4007 N. College Avenue
Indianapolis, IN 46205

IOWA

ALTERNATES

Ruby Abebe
637 Independence Avenue
Waterloo, IA 50703

KANSAS

DELEGATES

James L. Bolden
830 E. 37th
Topeka, KS 66605

Thomas Williams
1216 Cleveland
Kansas City, KS 66104

ALTERNATES

Ann Garvin
2306 Massachusetts
Topeka, KS 66605

Don Oden
1112 E. 19th
Topeka, KS 66607

KENTUCKY
ALTERNATES

J. R. Hughes
606 Old Harrods Creek Road
Louisville, KY 40223

LOUISIANA
DELEGATES

Herbert H. Eddington
7411 Bullard Avenue
New Orleans, LA 70128

ALTERNATES

Jerry Cole
1754 79th Avenue
Baton Rouge, LA 70807

Richard Young
1609 S. 2nd Street
Monroe, LA 71202

Bill Lott
2005 Christine
Bossier City, LA 71112

Eulis Moore
4809 Odin
New Orleans, LA 70125

MARYLAND
DELEGATES

Madie E. Mitchell
2210 Druid Hill Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21217

ALTERNATES

Victor Clark
1949 W. LaFayette Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21217

Mary Jackson
409 Heitzman Road
Davidson, MD 21385

Robert Conway
Route 2, Box 376
Ponds Woods Road
Huntington, MD 20639

Norris Sydnor
10605 Parrish Lane
Mitchell, MD 20785

James House
2029 59th Place
Cheverly, MD 20785

MICHIGAN
DELEGATES

Kevin Hammons
700 Whitmore
Detroit, MI 48203

Queenetta Nelson
3462 Van Dyke
Detroit, MI 48214

Sarah Smith
8188 Edgewood
Detroit, MI 48213

Larrain Thomas
810 Whitmore
Detroit, MI 48203

Vera Weiss
9381 Broadstreet
Detroit, MI 48204

ALTERNATES

William Clark
4325 Harrison
Inkster, MI 48141

Callie Dukes
18060 Fairway Drive
Detroit, MI 48221

Bernadette Traylor
201 Winona
Highland Park, MI 48203

Martha Williams
1884 Evaline
Detroit, MI 48203

Beatrice Woods
5170 Evaline
Hamtramck, MI 48212

MISSISSIPPI
DELEGATES

Chester B. Smith
408 Cannon Street
Greenville, MS 38701

ALTERNATES

Brenda Donnell
1450 Brinkley Drive
Jackson, MS 39213

Bill Jordan
1409 Fairhaven Drive
Gautier, MS 39553

Les Range
5731 Brownlee Drive
Booneville, MS 38829

MISSOURI
DELEGATES

Grant Keys
11011 Ebert Drive
St. Louis, MO 63136

Mable Page Lee
1311 Manheim Road
Kansas City, MO 64109

Yvonne Miller
5330 N. Kings Highway
St. Louis, MO 63115

ALTERNATES

Homer Mullin
5022A Maple Street
St. Louis, MO 63113

William E. White
217 Lithia
St. Louis, MO 63119

NEBRASKA

DELEGATES

Christina Godfrey
2211 Griffith
Lincoln, NE 68503

Jackson Graham
3816 N. 22nd Street
Omaha, NE 68110

ALTERNATES

Larry E. King, Jr.
13232 N. River Road
Omaha, NE 68122

NEVADA

DELEGATES

Olivia Williams
172 Goldhill Avenue
Las Vegas, NV 89106

NEW JERSEY

DELEGATES

Leonard S. Coleman, Jr.
10 Crestmont Road
Montclair, NJ 07042

Patricia Steward
353 Tryon Avenue
Englewood, NJ 07631

William Stubbs
272 S. 8th Street
Newark, NJ 07103

ALTERNATES

Nadine Carpenter
355 North Carolina Avenue
Atlantic City, NJ 08041

NEW YORK

DELEGATES

Fred Brown
10-16 E. Richmond Plaza
Bronx, NY 10453

Lionel Hampton
1 Lincoln Place
New York, NY 10023

Donella J. Jackson
98 Patchen Avenue
Brooklyn, NY 11221

ALTERNATES

Kendrick Harper
15809 76th Road
Flushing, NY 11366

Audrey Smaltz
15 W. 55th Street
New York, NY 10019

Sinita Walker
1025 Ontario Road
West Hempstead, NY 11512

NORTH CAROLINA

DELEGATES

Richard Bishop
Route 17, Box 155
Fayetteville, NC 28301

ALTERNATES

Claude Allen
P.O. Box 177000
Raleigh, NC 27619

OHIO

DELEGATES

Herbert T. Atkins
4263 East 170th Place
Cleveland, OH 44128

Lurtissia Brown
1101 Parkside Road
Cleveland, OH 44108

Ronald J. Crutcher
2231 Benton Avenue
Dayton, OH 45406

Helen W. Evans
Route 5
Marysville, OH 43040

Julie Grady-Heard
2223 Barrymore
Columbus, OH 43219

Barbara J. Lattimore
3891 East 155th Street
Cleveland, OH 44128

Constance E. Lucas
2211 Ridge Creek Court
Dayton, OH 45426

ALTERNATES

Harry Alexander
3025 S. Moreland Blvd.
Cleveland, OH 44120

Eugenia Atkinson
265 Redondo Road
Youngstown, OH 44504

Bennett Cooper, Jr.
1153 Winona Avenue
Cincinnati, OH 45224

Albert Moore
16516 Throckley
Cleveland, OH 44128

OKLAHOMA

DELEGATES

Curtis Hardeman
1620 N. E. 19th Street
Oklahoma City, OK 73111

Ophelia Jatta
1821 N. E. 35th
Oklahoma City, OK 73111

ALTERNATES

Luther Woodard
1723 W. Independence
Tulsa, OK 74127

OREGON
ALTERNATES

Chad Debnam
3243 N. E. 13th Avenue
Portland, OR 97212

PENNSYLVANIA
DELEGATES

LeGree S. Daniels
1715 Glenside Drive
Harrisburg, PA 17109

Vera Gunn
6466 Ross Street
Philadelphia, PA 19119

Millie Mae Leake
925 Pusey Street
Chester, PA 19013

Doris Carson Williams
1431 Pennsylvania Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15233

SOUTH CAROLINA
ALTERNATES

W. Bill Drummond
116 Whitestone Avenue
Mauldin, SC 29662

TENNESSEE
DELEGATES

Dorothy L. Brown
P.O. Box 90887
3109 John A. Merritt Blvd.
Nashville, TN 37209

Francis Guess
703 Joseph Avenue
Nashville, TN 37207

ALTERNATES

Maurice Franklin
147 Jefferson Avenue
Suite 1110
Memphis, TN 38103

Ricky Robinson
924 Stonewall
Memphis, TN 38107

Joe Thomas
831 Kirkwood
Nashville, TN 37204

TEXAS
DELEGATES

Kenneth M. Hoyt
3334 S. MacGregor
Houston, TX 77021

ALTERNATES

Ray Barnes
Route 2, Box 3D
Luling, TX 78653

Hudson Griffin
2822 Burger
Dallas, TX 75215

Kirvin Powers
2819 Tanner
Dallas, TX 75215

McKinley Shephard
P.O. Box 10536
Lubbock, TX 79408

UTAH
DELEGATES

Ruby Price
933 W. Gentile
Layton, UT 84041

ALTERNATES

Nathaniel Johnson
1918 John Street
Layton, UT 84041

VIRGINIA
DELEGATES

Eleanor Rice
356 Woodland Road
Hampton, VA 23669

ALTERNATES

Charles Robinson
722 Milford Avenue
Hampton, VA 23661

Y. B. Williams
4101 Washington Avenue
Newport News, VA 23607

VIRGIN ISLANDS

ALTERNATES

Stanley E. Farrelly
P.O. Box 234
F'sted, St. Croix, VI 00840

Roger S. Moran
P.O. Box 1191
St. Thomas, VI 00801

WASHINGTON

DELEGATES

Elizabeth Ponder
523 22nd Avenue East
Seattle, WA 98112

ALTERNATES

Juanita Grant
2308 Pinebrook Lane
Des Moines, WA 98188

Frank Joseph
P.O. Box 73099
Puyallup, WA 98373

WISCONSIN

DELEGATES

Joe Gold
3953 N. 71st Street
Milwaukee, WI 53216

ALTERNATES

Henry Anderson
1633 N. Arlington Place
Milwaukee, WI 53202

Charles Walker
11520 N. Port Washington Road
13W
Mequon, WI 53092

Table 1. Black Delegates at Republican National Conventions, 1912 - 1984

Election year	Total number delegates	Number black delegates	Percent black delegates	Number black alternates
1912	1,078	65	6.0	*
1916	985	35	3.5	*
1920	984	29	2.9	*
1924	1,109	39	3.5	1
1928	1,098	49	4.4	55
1932	1,154	26	2.2	27
1936	1,003	45	4.5	34
1940	1,000	32	3.2	53
1944	1,057	18	1.7	27
1948	1,094	41	3.7	34
1952	1,206	29	2.4	34
1956	1,323	36	2.7	41
1960	1,331	22	1.6	28
1964	1,308	14	1.0	29
1968	1,333	26	1.9	52
1972	1,348	56	4.2	84
1976	2,259	76	3.4	74
1980	1,993	55	2.7	66
1984	2,235	69	3.1	88

Sources: Negro Year Book, 1931-32, and Republican National Conventions, 1912-68.

*Alternates not specified.

Table 2. Black Delegate Representation at Republican National Conventions; by State, 1972-1984

State	Total delegates, 1984	Black percent of population, 1980	Black delegates							
			1984		1980		1976		1972	
			#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Alabama	38	25.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.7	1	5.5
Alaska	18	3.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Arizona	32	2.8	2	6.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.5
Arkansas	29	16.3	2	6.9	1	5.3	0	0.0	3	16.6
California	176	7.7	9	5.1	7	4.2	5	3.0	4	4.1
Colorado	35	3.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Connecticut	35	7.0	1	2.9	1	2.7	1	2.9	0	0.0
Delaware	19	16.1	3	15.8	1	8.3	1	5.9	2	16.7
District of Columbia	14	70.3	4	28.6	7	50.0	6	42.9	3	33.3
Florida	82	13.8	0	0.0	1	2.0	1	1.5	1	2.5
Georgia	37	26.8	2	5.4	1	2.8	1	2.1	1	4.1
Hawaii	14	1.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Idaho	21	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Illinois	93	14.7	2	2.2	3	2.9	8	7.9	2	3.4
Indiana	52	7.6	1	1.9	3	5.6	2	3.7	1	3.1
Iowa	37	1.4	0	0.0	1	2.7	0	0.0	1	4.5
Kansas	32	5.3	2	6.3	1	3.1	1	2.9	1	5.0
Kentucky	37	7.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.1
Louisiana	41	29.4	1	2.4	1	3.2	1	2.4	2	10.0
Maine	20	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Maryland	31	22.7	1	3.2	2	6.7	3	7.0	3	11.5
Massachusetts	52	3.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.3	0	0.0
Michigan	77	12.9	5	6.5	7	8.5	7	8.3	5	10.4
Minnesota	32	1.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.4	1	3.8
Mississippi	30	35.2	1	3.3	0	0.0	2	6.7	1	7.1

Missouri	47	10.5	3	6.4	1	2.7	1	2.0	1	3.3
Montana	20	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Nebraska	24	3.1	2	8.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Nevada	22	6.4	1	4.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	8.3
New Hampshire	22	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
New Jersey	64	12.6	3	4.7	2	3.0	1	1.5	2	5.0
New Mexico	24	1.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
New York	136	13.7	3	2.2	5	4.1	11	7.1	8	9.0
North Carolina	53	22.4	1	1.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	6.2
North Dakota	18	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Ohio	89	10.0	7	7.9	0	0.0	5	5.2	1	1.8
Oklahoma	35	6.8	2	5.7	1	2.9	1	2.8	0	0.0
Oregon	32	1.4	0	0.0	1	3.5	1	3.3	0	0.0
Pennsylvania	98	8.8	4	4.1	4	4.8	7	6.8	1	1.7
Rhode Island	14	2.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
South Carolina	35	30.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.5
South Dakota	19	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Tennessee	46	15.8	2	4.3	1	3.1	3	7.0	1	3.8
Texas	109	12.0	1	0.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Utah	26	0.6	1	3.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Vermont	19	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Virginia	50	18.9	1	2.0	0	0.0	1	2.0	3	10.0
Washington	44	2.6	1	2.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
West Virginia	19	3.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Wisconsin	46	3.9	1	2.2	0	0.0	1	2.2	0	0.0
Wyoming	18	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Guam	4	N.A.	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Puerto Rico	14	N.A.	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Virgin Islands	4	N.A.	0	0.0	3	75.0	2	50.0	1	33.3
TOTALS	2,235	11.7	69	3.1	55	2.7	76	3.4	56	4.2

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Table 3. Black Voter Registration, 1982

Rank by number of unregistered blacks	State	Unregistered black voting-age population	Registered black voting-age population	Total black voting-age population**	Percentage of voting-age blacks registered	Reagan victory margin, 1980
1	New York*	894,000	737,000	1,631,000	45.2	165,459
2	Texas	520,000	678,000	1,198,000	56.6	629,558
3	North Carolina*	506,000	391,000	897,000	43.6	39,383
4	Georgia	472,000	510,000	982,000	51.9	-236,787
5	California	462,000	836,000	1,298,000	64.4	1,441,183
6	Florida	459,000	464,000	923,000	50.3	627,476
7	Virginia*	331,000	383,000	714,000	53.6	237,435
8	Pennsylvania	294,000	426,000	720,000	59.2	324,332
9	South Carolina*	292,000	333,000	625,000	53.3	11,456
10	Alabama*	272,000	372,000	644,000	57.7	17,462
11	Illinois	257,000	819,000	1,077,000	76.1	376,681
12	Maryland	256,000	407,000	664,000	61.4	-45,555
13	Louisiana*	256,000	557,000	813,000	68.5	84,400
14	New Jersey	247,000	363,000	610,000	59.5	399,193
15	Ohio	247,000	470,000	717,000	65.6	454,131
16	Michigan	214,000	553,000	767,000	72.1	253,693
17	Tennessee*	158,000	322,000	479,000	67.1	4,710
18	District of Columbia	149,000	171,000	320,000	53.5	-102,611
19	Mississippi*	131,000	410,000	541,000	75.8	11,808
20	Arkansas*	85,000	147,000	233,000	63.3	5,123
21	Indiana	84,000	182,000	265,000	68.5	411,459
22	Missouri	79,000	260,000	339,000	76.7	142,999
23	Connecticut	68,000	75,000	143,000	52.3	135,478
24	Massachusetts*	64,000	86,000	149,000	57.3	2,423
25	Kentucky*	62,000	114,000	176,000	64.9	17,857
26	Oklahoma	56,000	82,000	138,000	59.2	293,544
27	Wisconsin	13,000	97,000	111,000	87.9	107,261

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

* In these states, the number of unregistered voting-age blacks in 1982 exceeded the Republican margin of victory in the 1980 presidential election.

** Because all numbers are rounded to the nearest thousand, some numbers in this column do not equal the sum of numbers in the two preceding columns.

Table 4. Top 20 Cities Ranked by Black Voting-Age Population, 1980

City	Black voting-age population	Total voting age population	Black percentage of total
New York, NY	1,202,125	5,306,172	22.7
Chicago, IL	764,574	2,152,196	35.5
Detroit, MI	489,017	838,721	58.3
Philadelphia, PA	433,964	1,251,052	34.7
Los Angeles, CA	352,259	2,221,112	15.9
Washington, D.C.	325,518	494,842	65.8
Baltimore, MD	289,638	574,832	50.4
Houston, TX	285,722	1,142,883	25.0
New Orleans, LA	194,326	397,183	48.9
Memphis, TN	192,587	458,338	42.0
Atlanta, GA	188,504	311,139	60.6
Cleveland, OH	170,302	414,378	41.1
Dallas, TX	167,308	660,286	25.3
St. Louis, MO	134,750	334,649	40.3
Newark, NJ	119,534	217,022	55.1
Oakland, CA	109,032	256,845	42.5
Birmingham, AL	105,536	208,654	50.6
Indianapolis, IN	97,789	500,360	19.5
Jacksonville, FL	87,652	385,339	22.7
Cincinnati, OH	86,203	288,203	29.9

Source: Data from U.S. Bureau of the Census

Table 5. Voter Turnout by Race and Region, 1964-1982

	Congressional elections					Presidential elections				
	1982	1978	1974	1970	1966	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
United States										
White	49.9%	47.3%	46.3%	56.0%	57.0%	60.9%	60.9%	64.5%	69.1%	70.7%
Black	43.0	37.2	33.8	43.5	41.7	50.5	48.7	52.1	57.6	58.5
Difference	6.9	10.1	12.5	12.5	15.3	10.4	12.2	12.4	11.5	12.2
North and West										
White	53.1	50.0	50.0	59.8	61.7	62.4	62.6	67.5	71.8	74.7
Black	48.5	41.3	37.9	51.4	52.1	52.8	52.2	56.7	64.8	72.0
Difference	4.6	8.7	12.1	8.4	9.6	9.6	10.4	10.8	7.0	2.7
South										
White	42.9	41.1	37.4	46.4	45.1	57.4	57.1	57.0	61.9	59.6
Black	38.3	33.5	30.0	36.8	32.9	48.2	45.7	47.8	51.6	44.0
Difference	4.6	7.6	7.4	9.6	12.2	9.2	11.4	9.2	10.3	15.5

Source: Data from U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Note: The data here are from Census Bureau post-election surveys, in which samples of the population are asked whether they voted in the last election. Thus, the percentages reflect those who reported voting; these percentages are usually higher than the percentages of people who actually voted.

Table 6. Reported Black Voter Registration and Turnout by Age and Sex, 1980

	Reported Registered %	Reported Voted %	Voting Age Population (Thousands)	Unregistered Population (Thousands)
Male	57.2	47.5	7,299	3,123
18 to 20 years	35.6	25.9	748	482
21 to 24 years	42.8	30.9	854	488
25 tp 34 years	53.4	43.8	1,749	814
35 to 44 years	63.4	54.1	1,192	436
45 to 54 years	62.8	54.2	1,064	396
55 to 64 years	68.7	60.1	847	265
65 to 74 years	72.2	63.2	577	161
75 years and over	69.6	54.6	267	81
Female	62.2	52.8	9,124	3,451
18 to 20 years	35.2	24.7	851	551
21 to 24 years	48.7	36.5	1,106	567
25 to 34 years	59.1	49.8	2,207	903
35 to 44 years	70.5	62.6	1,517	447
45 to 54 years	71.2	62.4	1,236	357
55 to 64 years	74.6	68.0	1,013	257
65 to 74 years	75.0	66.1	774	194
75 years and over	58.2	44.7	420	175

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

SELECTED JCPS PUBLICATIONS

Black Americans and the Shaping of U.S. Foreign Policy: Proceedings of a JCPS Roundtable, 1981. ISBN 0-941410-18-8. $4.95

Black Elected Officials and their Constituencies, Thomas E. Cavanagh and Denise Stockton, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-28-5. $4.95.

Black Elected Officials: A Roster, 1984. Available from UNIPUB, P.O. Box 1222, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. $27.50.

Black Employment in City Government, 1973-1980, Peter Eisinger, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-32-3. $4.95.

Blacks and the 1984 Democratic National Convention: A Guide, (Election '84 Report No. 3), 1984. ISBN 0-941410-46-3. $4.95.

Blacks on the Move: A Decade of Demographic Change, William P. O'Hare, Jane-yu Li, Roy Chatterjee, and Margaret Shukur, abridged by Phillip Sawicki, 1982. ISBN 0-941410-25-0. $4.95.

The Changing Patterns of Black Family Income, 1960-1982, Henry E. Felder, 1984. ISBN 0-941410-43-9. $4.95.

Energy and Equity: Some Social Concerns, edited by Ellis Cose, 1979. ISBN 0-941410-09-9. $8.50.

Focus, JCPS monthly newsletter. ISSN 0740-0195. $12.00 per annum.

Foreign Trade Policy and Black Economic Advancement: Proceedings of a JCPS Roundtable, 1981. ISBN 0-941410-19-6. $4.95.

How to Use Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, third edition, Barbara Y. Phillips, 1984. ISBN 0-941410-27-7. $4.95.

The Impact of the Black Electorate (Election '84 Report No. 1), Thomas E. Cavanagh, 1984. ISBN 0-941410-44-7. $4.95.

The JCPS Congressional District Fact Book, edited by Thomas E. Cavanagh, 1984. ISBN 0-941410-34-X. $5.95.

Jesse Jackson's Campaign: The Primaries and Caucuses (Election '84 Report No. 2), Thomas E. Cavanagh and Lorn S. Foster, 1984. ISBN 0-941410-45-5. $4.95.

Minority Vote Dilution, edited by Chandler Davidson, 1984. Available from Howard University Press, 2900 Van Ness St., Washington, DC 20008. $24.95.

Mobilizing the Black Community: The Effects of Personal Contact Campaigning on Black Voters, Paul Carton, 1984. ISBN 0-941410-42-0. $4.95

The Nineteen Eighties: Prologue and Prospect, Kenneth B. Clark and John Hope Franklin, 1981. ISBN 0-941410-20-X. $2.95.

A Policy Framework for Racial Justice, (statement by thirty black scholars), 1983. Introduction by Kenneth B. Clark and John Hope Franklin. ISBN 0-941410-30-7. $4.95.

Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980, Gary Orfield, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-29-3. $4.95.

Race and Political Strategy, edited by Thomas E. Cavanagh, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-33-1. $4.95.

Vote Dilution, Minority Voting Rights, and the Courts, Stephen L. Wasby, 1982. ISBN 0-941410-22-6. $4.95.

The Voting Rights Act and Black Electoral Participation, Kenneth H. Thompson, 1982. ISBN 0-941410-24-2. $4.95.

Wealth and Economic Status: A Perspective on Racial Inequity, by William P. O'Hare, 1983. ISBN 0-941410-35-8. $4.95.

The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the political process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs.

Joint Center for Political Studies, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20004, 202 626-3500